

**Early South Indian  
Temple Architecture**  
Study of Tiruvāliśvaram Inscriptions

**Dr.K.D. Swaminathan, M.A.,Ph.D.**

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K.D. SWAMINATHAN

Madras

30th August 1990.

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## **Abbreviations**

**A.I.** Ancient India, Bulletin of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi.

**A.R.Ep.** Annual Report on Epigraphy, Madras.

**A.R.Ind.Ep.** Annual Report on Indian Epigraphy, Delhi.

**A.R.S.Ind.Ep.** Annual Report on South Indian Epigraphy, Delhi.

**A.R.Madr.Govt.Mus.** Annual Report of the Madras Government Museum, Madras.

**A.S.I.A.R.** Annual Report of the Archaeological Survey of India, Simla and Delhi.

**A.S.S.I.** Archaeological Survey of South India, Madras.

**B.E.F.E.O.** Bulletin de l' Ecole Francaise d' extreme-Orient, Hanoi and Paris.

**Bijdrag.** Bijdragen tot de Taal-, Land-, en Volkenkunde van Ned.Indie, The Hague.

**B.I.T.C.** Bulletin of Institute of Traditional Cultures, Madras.

**B.Madr.Govt.Mus.** Bulletin of the Madras Government Museum, Madras.

**B.S.O.A.S.** Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, London.

**C.H.J.** The Ceylon Historical Journal, Peradeniya.

**C.I.I.** Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum.

**Ep.Carn.** Epigraphia Carnatica, Bangalore.

**Ep.Ind.** Epigraphia Indica, Delhi.

**Ep.Zeyl.** Epigraphia Zeylanica, London and Colombo.

**Ind.Ant.** Indian Antiquary, London and Bombay.

**Inscr.Pud.State.** Inscriptions of Pudukottai state, Pudukottai.



- J.A.*** Journal Asiatique, Paris.
- J.A.H.R.S.*** Journal of the Andhra Historical Research Society, Rajahmundry.
- J.A.O.S.*** Journal of the American Oriental Society, New Haven and New York.
- J.A.S.B.*** Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.
- J.I.H.*** Journal of Indian History, Trivandrum.
- J.I.S.O.A.*** Journal of the Indian Society of Oriental Art, Calcutta.
- Journ.Madr.Geog.Assn.*** Journal of the Madras Geographical Association, Madras.
- J.N.S.I.*** Journal of Numismatic Society of India, Vārāṇasī.
- Journ.Or.Res.*** Journal of Oriental Research, Madras.
- J.R.A.S.*** Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, London.
- M.A.S.I.*** Memoirs of the Archaeological Survey of India, Delhi.
- Mys.Arch.Rep.*** Mysore Archaeological Reports, Bangalore.
- New.Ind.Ant.*** New Indian Antiquary, Bombay.
- Proc.Ind.Hist.Congress.*** Proceedings of the Indian History Congress Sessions.
- Proc.Tr.All India Or.Conf.*** Proceedings and transactions of the All India Oriental Conference.
- Qu.Journ.Myth.Soc.*** Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society, Bangalore.
- S.I.I.*** South Indian Inscriptions, Delhi and Madras.
- S.I.T.I.*** South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Madras.
- Tijdschr.Bat.Gen.*** Tijdschrift voor Indische Taal-, Land en Volken Kunde, Bataviaasch Genootschap.
- Trans.Arch.Soc.S.I.*** Transactions of the Archaeological Society of South India, Madras.
- Trav.Arch.Ser.*** Travancore Archaeological Series, Trivandrum.
- Un.Ceyl.Rev.*** University of Ceylon Review, Ceylon.
- Z.D.M.G.*** Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenlandischen Gesellschaft, Leipzig.



## **List of Photographs**

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## Introductory

The rich  
will make temples for Śiva  
What shall I,  
a poor man  
do?  
My legs are pillars  
the body the shrine  
the head a cupola  
of Gold  
Listen, O Lord of the meeting rivers,  
things standing shall fall,  
but the moving ever shall stay.

*Vacanna 820 Basavanna (1106 - 1167 A.D.)\**

Indian temples are traditionally built in the image of the human body. The ritual for building a temple begins with digging in the earth, and planting a pot of seed. The temple is said to rise from the implanted seed, like a human. The different parts of a temple are named after body parts. The two sides are called the hands or wings, the *hasta*; a pillar is called a foot; *pāda*. The top of the temple is the head, the *śikhara*. The shrine, the innermost and the darkest sanctum of the temple is a *Garbhagriha*, the womb house. The temple thus carries out in brick and stone the primordial blue print of the human body. This symbolism could be extended further; If a temple has three doors, they represent the three states of consciousness (sleep, waking and dream) through any of which you may reach the lord within; if it has five doors, they represent the five senses. But in history the human metaphor fades. The model, the meaning is submerged. The temple becomes a static standing thing that has forgotten its moving originals.

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\* S.S. Basavanal's edition, Dharwar, 1962., Also J.B.Alphonsokarkala (Ed) An Anthology of Indian Literature, Penguin Books, 1971, p.494.

## Early Temple Architecture

Medieval South Indian temples looked remarkably like palaces with battlements; they were richly endowed and patronised by the wealthy and the powerful, without whom the massive structures housing the be-jewelled gods and sculptured pillars would not have been possible.

India is a geographical unity of colossal size with many diverse regions and climates. For five eventful millennia, this country ranging from the snow-capped mountains of the Himalayas through densely forested slopes and plateaux, tree-scattered river plains and arid desert, to the lagoons and palm trees of the south, has formed a complex cultural and artistic unity. The conventional history of Indian art, the main lines of which were laid down years ago, needs to be vastly extended, diversified and reconcieved. No one individual could carry through this enormous task. The situation is further complicated by the fact that at all times in India, arts at different levels of sophistication have existed alongside each other in each area.

Every artistic tradition develops on the basis of certain special visual and aesthetic ideas. These reflect the emotional needs and imaginative pre-possessions of the people for whom the art was made; and if one wants to understand the meaning of any art, one has to explore these ideas in depth. Leaving aside the discussion of dynasties, warfare and trade routes that usually dominate historical books of Indian Art, the Cant-theology and pseudo mysticism dominating many other works is carefully avoided here.

India is a land of villages ; between them stretching across the face of the subcontinent radiates an apparently infinite network of fields and paths. In these villages life was hard. The villager's preoccupations were always the basic ones — birth, marriage, procreation and death. All of these depended for good or ill upon the fertility of the earth, the visitations both of disease and of the tax gatherers. The dramatic vagaries of the Indian climate are well known. For most of the year, in desperation if the monsoon fails, his life revolves around the water supply. He catches it in little dams; he carries it from his village pond; he leads it laboriously along miles of irrigation ditches; he dredges it from deepwells. Cobras and Cholera, small pox and scorpions are his intimate companions. He has the most direct possible experience of the forces governing growth and decay, life and death.

As a consequence he is vividly aware of the numinous in his coutryside. All the forms that surround him are symbolic of experiences

## Introduction

deeply engraved on his spirit. And these forms have been gathered over the ages into a symbolic language of images. Through it he presents to himself the ultimate realisation of what he is, where he is going, whence he has come, in the colours of horror, sensual delight, awe, disgust and wrath. Above all he has a virtually immediate perception of the presence on a given spot of the actual power that rules his life. As a consequence his countryside is filled with places where divinity dwells. These places become his shrines, the terminals, as it were, of the transcendent power supply from which, by appropriate rituals, he can draw the strength he needs to carry on his life.

Every village has its holy spot, or shrine. The hallows may be; the stump of an ancient tree with two contorted branching arms, cased in earth painted with bands of red and white; an ant hill from which mysterious sound was once heard emanating, daubed with red dots; a raised plinth under a tree upon which are piled fragmentary stone statues of an earlier age, ploughed up from their fields by the peasants; a huge boulder cased closely in a wall on three sides, the fourth face being painted. In larger villages or towns the hallows will be enveloped in a cell; a temple might grow up around a hallowa which showed notable prowess in the answering of prayers, as richer men paid for architectural and sculptural embellishments in gratitude for requests fulfilled.

In some of the oldest and most sacred ancient temples, the central image (*mūla bhēra*) shares the innermost shrine (*garbhagriha*) with a ruined ant hill or the stump of ancient tree – (the *Āl marā* or *Ficus Religiosa* in the case of the Tiruvāliśvaram temple). – the original nameless hallows around which the whole temple grew.

The fabric of the temple itself expresses in outward form and sculptural ornament the potency of the ancient hallows. To the Indian mind, always profoundly in touch with peasant realities, all sculptures in fact, perform this same functions– they are vessels full of the immanent divine, not only the icons of a deity himself but all other images to some-degree or other.

The Indian temple as a structure enshrining an object of veneration, circumambulation (*pradakṣina*) adoration and worship (*pūja*) had a varied growth in different parts of the sub-continent, according to the local needs or credal requirements subject to the interplay or exchange of thoughts and ideas. The basic elements of the tem-



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ple and the worship derived mainly from *Vedic* and *Purāṇic* sources, assuming different styles and norms during their diffusion over wide areas. The emergence of Jainism and Buddhism (pre-Christian) and the development of the legends, creeds, forms of deities, rituals and the like resulted in their adaptation of one kind or another of the temple form and its adjuncts suiting the object of their particular worship. Essentially the temple in its form and layout depended on the object of veneration installed and the modes of worship. The three creeds, retained the common Indian plans and elevations, displaying however these credal distinctions by suitable adoption of their forms by emphasizing the features of the cognitions of the respective creeds in the general formation and content of the structure.

The builders (*stapatis*) or the craftsman (*śilpina*s) who belonged to the guilds of artisans having common principles and set methods of design and erection, worked in collaboration with the priesthood, which knew the rituals, the nature of objects of veneration and the modes of their worship. They, together, determined the forms of the temples with such modifications to suit the respective cases, as also the fixation of the features of the principal deities and the decoration of the complex into iconic or sculptural embellishment. This consequently resulted in the evolution of the *Vāstu*, *Śilpa* and *Āgama* texts and canons as described in the *Śāstras*. All that was known and necessary in the creation of the temple and the conduct of worship therein was codified. Thus to the Indian mind the indigenous architecture remains basically and essentially Indian. It cannot be subdivided, into 'Hindu', 'Jain' or 'Buddhist' architecture as is usually made out.

The tradition of rock cut architecture and excavation into living rock of *Caitya* and *Vihāra* of the Buddhists initiated by Aśoka near Gaya was soon pursued in the trap rock region of Deccan and Western India, reproducing aspects of contemporary brick and timber originals, which did not survive because of their perishable nature. The expression of forms of architecture and sculpture through the more permanent medium of stone, adopted earlier by the Buddhist, then the Hindu and the Jains, has enabled a good perspective of the contemporary religious architecture and sculpture. The brick built *Stūpa* and *Caitya*, which are in essence temples in Eastern Āndhra and Northern Kārṇāṭaka regions, have survived because of the use of stone for their protective casing and sculptured veneer, as also the railings which imitated the timber work in their joinery and fixtures.



## Introduction

Since the sixth-seventh centuries A.D. the Hindus and Jains of the South took over the stone medium started excavating rock cut cave temples or monolithic temples, (cf. Māmallapuram, Mandagapattu, Malayadikurricchi, Pillaiyārpatti, Tirupparankunram, Anamalai, Kalugumalai) and ultimately built them in stone. A long series of such temples created in close succession, extending continuously through the past 13 centuries, surviving in their thousands, more in the far south where most of them are still in use. The comparative freedom of foreign onslaught and disruption and the relative stability and strength of the kingdom and society were necessarily the contributing factors. The early Hindu and Jain temples came into being under royal patronage of the great empires of the South. The Cālukyas, Pallavas, Pāṇdyas and Colas alongwith lesser kingdoms wedged in between. This spirit was soon followed up by the nobility, mercantile corporations and agricultural, trade and artisan guilds, in a chain of temples, big and small studding every village and Town of South India, which came to be known as the land of temples. The temples were documented by their own expressive and detailed inscriptions. The Cōla temples (9-10 cents) became the vėry hub of the rural and urban life in all aspects,—religious, cultural, social, economic and educational — and thus becoming the repository of all that was best in fabric, architecture and sculpture.

The South Indian temples with their characteristic tiered *Vimāna* shrines, their axial and peripheral *maṇḍapa* adjuncts, (flat-roofed halls) and the towering *Gōpura* entrances form a distinct class by themselves as the Northern *prāsāda* temple with their curvilinear superstructures, the crowning *āmalaka* and *maṇḍapas* with rising tiered roofs. The *Vimāna* form in its various plans and elevations built of brick or timber had been developed in the South before the 7th Century A.D., as evidenced by the maturity shown by the first monolithic replicas as reproduced in the *rathas* of Māmallapuram and the earliest of stone structural *Vimānas*. The *maṇḍapa* forms are likewise evident from the cave temple types, while the *gōpura* in its simplest form is also found in the early temple units (cf. Shore temple, and the Kailāsanātha temple, Kāñcīpuram).

South Indian temple architecture sculpture and iconography had a great share in the contemporary make up of the religion, culture, art and architecture of the regions, to the east in the Indian Ocean, through the maritime contacts actuated by trade and the peaceful

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emigration of colonists than by motives of political aggrandisement. In fact, it may be emphasized that many of the greatest achievements in the fields of art, and architecture and religion are to be found in areas beyond the centres of the great religions of South India – as at Tañjāvur, Madurai and in other countries as in Java and Cambodia.

Since even the simplest architectural and art terms of European classical origin often employed in the description of Indian Temples are inadequate and not apt, the barest use of Indian technical terms of common Sanskrit origin for the most important members, as used in the *Vāstu* and *Śilpa* manuals has been attempted.

# 1

## The Earliest History of Tiruvalisvaram

Tiruvālisvaram is a village two miles north-west of Brahmaḍeṣam in the Ambāsamudram *taluk* of the Tirunelvēli District of *Tamil Nadu* State, situated on the banks of the Karuṇai āru or Ghaṭanā nadi, a tributary of the Tāmraparnī i. The district is one of the southernmost in the State, being bounded on the east and south by the Gulf of Mannār, on the north by Ramnad district and on the west by Kērala State.<sup>1</sup> The frontier between the district and Kerala State follows with a few exceptions the watershed of the Western Ghats. To the west of the Tenkāṣi *taluk*, where the mountains drop down to form the Āryankāvu pass, the frontier comes east of Ceṅkōṭṭai in the low country. Again near Panaṅguḍi, the boundary line descends from the top of the Mahēndragiri and continues southward along the level country till it meets the sea four miles east of Cape Comorin. Large villages or towns are found mainly in the fertile valley of the Tāmraparnī.<sup>2</sup>

The hills on the west are a continuation of the western Ghats, which, except for a recess in the Tenkāṣi *taluk*, run in a straight line from the northern limit of the district as far as Pāpanāṣam, from there sweeping for about twelve miles in a bold curve towards the south-east and then once more running southwards towards the sea. The average height of this range is about 4000 feet. The Ghats attain their greatest width south of the border between Ambāsamudram and Tenkāṣi *taluks*. The glory of this part of the mountain is the

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1. The Tirunelvēli District consists of eight *taluks*: Tenkāṣi, Tirunelvēli, Ambāsamudram, Nangunēri, Tiruccendūr, Śrīvaikunṭham, Kōvilpaṭṭi and Śaṅkarankōvil.

2. e.g. Ambāsamudram, Kallidaikkuricci, Vīravanallūr, Śermāḍēvi, Śrīvaikunṭham and Ālvār Tirunagari.

Agastya peak or *pōtikai*, 6125 feet high, which is the most striking peak in the whole range enjoying the benefits of both the monsoons. Agastyamalai is also known as *Ēka-pōtikai*. The hillock at Eruvadi in Nangunēri taluk is called *Iraṭṭai-pottai*. In Tirunelvēli, *pottai* or *porrai* indicates a hillock. The name Vāliśvaram suggests that the site was traditionally associated with Vālin, the monkey chief figuring in the *Rāmāyaṇa*. The Sanskritised form of Malayakōṭi or Malayakūṭa is mentioned in the *Arthaśāstra* as a mountain in the Pāṇḍya country and a synonym of *Pāṇḍya-kavāṭa*, referred to by Kauṭilya<sup>3</sup> as a source of pearls. This mountain is also referred to in the *Rāmāyaṇa*.<sup>4</sup> Hsüan Tsang mentions Mo-Lo-Ku-T'a while referring to the sandal-producing Mo-Lo-Ya mountain which is bordered by the sea, and also notices Pu-Ta-Lo-Ka<sup>5</sup> (Potalaka), which may well be Podiyamalai, the supposed residence of Agastya, after which a Pāṇḍya king is called *Podiya-verpāṇ*.<sup>6</sup>

Next to the Agastyamalai on the southern side stands the *aintalai-pōtikai* (five-headed hill). The last of the Tirunelvēli hills is Mahēndra giri in the Nangunēri taluk. The gneissic rock with outcrops at many places in the centre and west of the district is largely used for building purposes. Excellent fine-grained stone, which lends itself to sculpture, is obtainable at Brahmadeśam.

The forests on and around the hills contain little timber of commercial value. *Koṅgu*, which is found in the evergreen region, is perhaps the most valuable among the trees. The deciduous forests contain few species of value except as fuel. Teak is common but it seldom grows to a good size. Tea, cardamom and various fruits are successfully cultivated in the Ghats.<sup>7</sup>

All the rivers in the district originate in the Western Ghats and flow to the east or south-east. The Tāmraparnī, the chief river rises in the *Periya-pōtikai* and receives rain both during the South-west and North-east monsoons. After receiving the waters of the Pēyār

3. R.P.Kangle, *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, Part I, 1960, 2:11:2.

4. *Kiṣkindākāṇḍa*, 41, strophes 14-25; also *J.I.H.*, XXV, 1947, pp.263-67

5. Thomas Watters, *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India*, II, 1904-05, p. 228-229.

6. *Ind.Ant.*, XVIII, 1889, p.241, cf R.V. 6-I 184 v.s

7. For a general account of the forests and forest produce of Tirunelvēli the reader is referred to *Journ. Madr. Geogr. Ass.*, XV, April-June 1940, No.2, pp.104-111.

and Ultār on the east it reaches the Bānatīrtham precipice over which the water falls in a cascade. At the foot of the hills it is joined by the Pāmbār on the west and, one and a half miles further down, by the Kāriyār on the east. After receiving the waters of the Śērvai-āru on the east near Muṇḍanturāi, the river reaches the barrier of the rocks at Pāpanāśam, over which again it plunges in a cascade of 300 feet known as Kalyāṇatīrtham falls. From Pāpanāśam eastwards to its mouth at Punnaikāyal, the river flows over level country for about sixty miles. The Maṇimuttār joins the Tāmraparṇī on its right bank. The Ghaṭanā *nadī*, which receives the Varāha *nadī*, the united stream of Jambū *nadī* and Rāma *nadī*, flows into the Tāmraparṇī on its left bank at Tirupparuḍaimarudūr. The other tributaries are the Kāri-āru and the Paccai-āru, which join the river on its right side. The last important tributary is Śittār (Citrā in Sanskrit), meeting the Tāmraparṇī at Śevilippēri. It rises in the hills above Kuṛṛālam and reaches the village after a succession of falls, the main ones being *Teṇṇaruvi*, the Shenbagadēvi falls and the Kuṛṛālam falls, the last a 200 feet cascade, one of the most striking features of the area. The Nambi-āru and Hanumān-*nadī* are small rivers in the Naṅgunēri taluk. The Śaṅkarankōvil and Kōvilpaṭṭi rivers are mostly dry. The drainage of the Tirunelvēli district is effected by the Vaippār in the north, the Tāmraparṇī in the centre and by the smaller rivers, the Nāṭṭār, the Karuṇai-āru and the Hanumān-*nadī*, in the south.

Eastwards from the Ghats the district is a continuous plain. The quartzite ridge extending almost from Uttumalai in Tenkāśi taluk to Talaiyūttu in Tirunelvēli taluk forms the watershed between the Tāmraparṇī and the Śittār.

The whole district may be divided into four natural regions:

1) The river valleys of the Tāmraparṇī and the Śittār and the regions about the upper reaches of the smaller rivers. The Tāmraparṇī valley is rich and important. Many large villages surrounded by green fields and marked by *gōpuras* and *vimānas* are to be found at intervals along the banks of the river. Paddy is the chief crop and the irrigated tracts are the most favoured in the district.<sup>8</sup> Other crops of the wet land are plantains, betel, turmeric and sugar cane.

8. For an account of the methods of paddy cultivation in Tirunelvēli the reader is referred to *Journ. Madr. Geogr. Assn.*, XV, No-3, 1940, pp.260-265.



2) The dry-red region: This region rises above the river valleys and embraces a great part of Ambāsamudram, Tirunelvēli, Śaṅkarankōvil, Kōvilpaṭṭi, the greater portion of Śrīvaikunṭham and Naṅgunēri. These wide areas of red sandy land are dotted with numerous tanks and patches of paddy fields. There is an abundance of palmyra palms. But the land is largely waste except for the red loamy soil near Kuṭṭrālam and the Ghats.

3) The *teri* country: The third region comprises the undulating expanse of red sand found in the southern part of the Naṅgunēri taluk and largely in Tiruccendūr. Dr Zeuner has shown that the microlithic industries of the *teri* are associable with an ancient sea level and has moderately estimated their date as prior to 4000 B.C., with the proviso that further geological research may push it back into the Pleistocene period.<sup>9</sup> The vast cultural material relating to the microliths of Tirunelvēli, collected after the expedition of Zeuner in 1949, are with the Institute of Archaeology, University of London, awaiting a full report.

Along the bases of these sand dunes fertile patches of land are found at intervals. The rain falling on the dunes is only partly absorbed and flows continuously into the surrounding level country. There are also great inland lakes called *taruvai* found in some of the deep depressions in these sand dunes.

Quite distinct from the *teris* are the dunes of white sea sand thrown up along the coast by the combined action of the surf and the south-west wind. At Manappādu, where the ridge is about 100 feet high, the sand has become hard enough to serve as building material. At Tiruccendūr the sea face has been transformed into a cliff 50 feet high out of which a shrine of Subrahmanya has been excavated. Other large sites are at Śāttankulam and between Eḍayaṅguḍi and the sea. Towards the eastern boundary the sand is encroaching on the cultivated land a few yards annually. It advances as a bank of fine sand, nearly perpendicular and from 10 to 50 feet high, which has overwhelmed villages. The people in this region have a tradition that some of the villages were suddenly overwhelmed. This is probably a localisation of a celebrated story of the destruction of an ancient city.

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9. F.E.Zeuner and Bridgett Allchin, "The Microlithic Sites of Tinnevely District, Madras State; in *A.I.*, No.12, 1956, pp.4-20; also F.E.Zeuner, *The Pleistocene period*, 1959, pp.300-312.



4) The Black cotton area: This region occupies the greater part of Kōvilpaṭṭi *taluk* and a large part of the northern half of Śrīvaikunṭham. The three main crops of this area are *kambu* (Millet) *cōlam* (Maize) and cotton. The two indigenous species of cotton grown are *karuṅganni* and *upparam*. Besides these, the Cambodia variety is grown where irrigation is possible.<sup>10</sup>

The average rainfall of the Tirunelvēli district is a little over 30 inches, the eastern part being very dry and hot while the western part has a moist climate with more rain. Three-fourths of the rain falls during the north-east monsoon when all the tanks are filled. In June and July (the first part of the south-west monsoon) places nearer the hills enjoy the *Śaral*, which is a series of slight drizzles with a consequent lowering of the temperature of the air, interspersed with short periods of mild sunshine. The hottest months of the year are April and May but the temperature is rarely above 95 in the shade, the coldest months being December and January, when the temperature seldom falls below 70.<sup>11</sup>

The sea-coast of about 85 miles extends along the Gulf of Mannār from Vembār in the north to a point about four miles east of Cape Comorin. The other prominent points along the coast are the rocky cape near Kuttankuḷi, a reef at Kulasekharapaṭṭanam, Alantai, Vīrapāṇḍyanpaṭṭanam, Kāyalpaṭṭanam and Punnaikāyal. Tuticorin harbour lies within a circular chain of islands and reefs formed by the Devil's point on the south, the Punnayadi, Cronjee and Pāṇḍyan *tīvu* ( *dvīpa* ) on the east and a rocky shoal on the north. An industry of great commercial and historical importance is the pearl fishery in the Gulf of Mannār.

**B. The oldest centres of civilisation as revealed by archaeology.**

The prehistoric settlements of Tirunelvēli district extend over the upper and lower regions of the Tāmraparṇī valley between Palamkōṭṭai and the sea, and also to the tributaries of the main river. Kuṟṟālam has yielded cinerary urns and pottery with serpent designs. These

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10. *Journ. Madr. Geogr. Assn.*, XV, No.2, 1940 pp.132-151.

11. For the topography, nature and distribution of vegetation and botanical specimens in the district the reader is referred to *Records of the Botanical Survey of India*, VI, 1914, pp.105-171.

graves have been attributed to the Nāgas.<sup>12</sup> Twenty-five burial urns of *maḍamaḍattān-tāli*<sup>13</sup> type, containing bones, were unearthed at Kīl Āmbūr<sup>14</sup> in Ambāsamudram *taluk*. Sepulchral urns have also been found at Kīl Puliyūr, Kīl Nattam and Kīl Paṭṭam in the same *taluk*. Urns were dug up in a field three furlongs to the east of Śivaśailam.<sup>15</sup> A burial urn embedded in the soil, out of which a palmyra palm has grown, is seen on the banks of the Ghaṭanā flowing close to the village of Tiruvāliśvaram and on the side opposite to the Śiva temple. These remains have as yet not been adequately studied. A systematic exploration and excavation of these areas will considerably increase our knowledge of these prehistoric remains and enable us to determine the age and stage of the art and civilisation of these settlements. In the Śaṅkarankōvil *taluk*, burial urns have been found at Śivagiri, Panaiyūr, Vāsudēvanallūr,<sup>16</sup> Karavanallūr, Kāriśāttan and Ariyūr. The other sites with prehistoric remains in the district are Palamkōṭṭai,<sup>17</sup> Sāyamalai, Kuruvikkulam, Nāluvāśalkōṭṭai, Śaṅkarankōvil, Peruṅkōṭṭūr, Kuvalaikkanni, Marattōṇi, Karivalam vandanallūr,<sup>18</sup> Gūḍalūr, Tenmalai, Dēvikāpaṭṭaṇam, Vīraśikhāmaṇi<sup>19</sup> and Kulaśēkharamaṅgalam. Two other sites, one near Śulipotai in Adaiccāni, with associated burial urns and a megalithic stone circle, was discovered and photographed by C.R.Kṛṣṇamācārlu in 1937-38, and another at Moṭṭapottai near Kuṇṇattūr.<sup>20</sup> The same scholar has

12. For the typology of the prehistoric antiquities reference is made to *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1936-37, pp.67-73 and plates xxvii-xxviii; also *A.R.S.Ind. Ep*, 1936-37, p.58.

13. The local tradition behind the name is that the ancient people of the area grew shorter and shorter before their death till they suited the size of the pot to which they were finally consigned and buried. This is a case of folk lore.

14. Seven miles north-west of Ambāsamudram.

15. Ten miles from Ambāsamudram and 12 miles south-east of Tenkāṣi.

16. Excavated by Cammiade. *Man*, XXX, 1930, pp.187-88.

17. *A.R.S.Ind. Ep*, 1939-43, p.3; also Appendix D, Nos.209, 1902 and 1903.

18. Six *Aurei*; the latest one of Hadrian dated A.D. 118 have been found at this site. *A.R.Madr.Govt.Mus*, 1933, p.5 *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1930-34, p.313; *A.I.*, No.2, 1946, pp.116-120 and map.

19. The Madras Museum has in its coin collection 287 coins from this site in addition to the Bōdināyakkanūr hoard of punch-marked coins. *J.N.SI*, Golden Jubilee Volume, 1961, pp.474,476,480 and 482.

20. *A.R.S.Ind. Ep*, 1937-38, Appendix D, p.72, Nos. 1617-22, 1658-60.

also given a note on some of the prehistoric remains brought to light by Cammiade at Tenkāṣi, Kīl Āmbūr, Kīlakkadaiyam and Śivaśailam.<sup>21</sup>

Attention should be drawn to the six skulls along with associated antiquities and pottery unearthed at Ādiccanallūr, on the right bank of the Tāmraparṇī and the most extensive prehistoric site in South India, covering an area of 114 acres, first brought to light by Dr. Jagor of Berlin in 1867<sup>22</sup>. The age of Ādiccanallūr remains doubtful. There is no definite but only circumstantial evidence of dates and the data can be variously interpreted. Estimates as to the age of these skulls have ranged from four hundred to four thousand years. It seems possible that the site may have been occupied from pre-Pāṇḍya times for at least several centuries before the beginning of the Christian era. Two of the skulls at Ādiccanallūr have been referred to by G. Elliot Smith<sup>23</sup>. One of the two skulls is proto-Australoid in type while the other resembles the Mediterranean type. The breadth of the cranium and the flattening of the occiput suggest that it may be the Maritime Armenoid type, a branch of the Alpine race, which is considered one of the constituents of the mixed race known as Dravidian. The association of two skulls so different from each other in the same burial site at Ādiccanallūr remains to be explained. It is probable that their completely different forms imply the presence of two racial stocks. One of them resembles the dolichocephalic type, which is dominant in South India, thereby suggesting that these might have been the burials of the ancestors of the present inhabitants of Tirunelvēli district. Zuckerman gives a detailed description of the Ādiccanallūr skulls and tries to explain the presence of an Australoid skull in South India<sup>24</sup>.

Other objects discovered at Ādiccanallūr range from well made pottery to many iron implements and weapons, vessels and personal ornaments, a few gold diadems, stone beads, bones and household implements. In a number of urns mica pieces about an inch in size

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21. A.S.I.A.R., 1936-37, p.66

22. The work of Dr. Jagor and the later explorations of M. Louis Lapique, along with other details of the site are given by A. Rea in *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities from Adichanallur and Perumbair*, Madras, 1915.

23. *Essays on the Evolution of Man*, 1927, Second edition; also Richard Carrington, *A Million Years of Man*, 1963, pp. 164-184.

24. *The Adichanallur Skulls*, B. Madr. Govt. Mus., II, Part I, 1930, p.8.

and husks of rice and millet were found<sup>25</sup>. It is interesting to note that no bronze implements were discovered. The rarity of bronze objects indicates that this metal must have been scarce and highly valued, and used only by the upper classes. It is also noteworthy that the huge funeral urns found in *tumuli* at Ādiccanallūr have yielded a few fragments of conch, associated with bronze utensils, iron weapons and gold fillets, pointing to the fact that there were skilful artificers in gold, bronze and iron.

Other classes of internments, urn burials without any megalithic associations such as boundary circles, have also been found in large numbers. They are however related to the megaliths of South India, as iron implements, black and red ware and fragmentary burials are found along with them. The pottery of Ādiccanallūr is more primitive than the megalithic pottery of other sites. The diffusion of pottery typical of Southern Megalithic monuments has an important bearing on the introduction of Iron Age in South India and possibly also on the advent of the Dravidians. A small quantity of bronze ware and gold diadems<sup>26</sup> not found elsewhere in South India and having typological parallels in Palestine, Syria and Cyprus about 1200 B.C., have also been discovered. An outstanding find among the Early Iron Age tombs of Solomon (1200-925 B.C.) in Palestine was a three-pronged iron fork<sup>27</sup> similar to the one found at Ādiccanallūr<sup>28</sup>.

The evidence from Ādiccanallūr also suggests the worship of Murgan or Vēlan, a popular deity with the Tamils, known since very early times. The god's banner depicted a cock as his emblem. Be-

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25. For a description of the objects in stone, metal and other material from this site the reader is referred to *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1902-03, p.111; 1903-04, p.158 and plates. Sir Leonard Wooley who inspected the site in 1939 thought that the area was an Early Iron Age township with a cemetery to the south of it. *A.R.S. Ind.Ep.*, 1939-43, p.3.

26. Gold diadems of a similar nature have been discovered at Mycenae (circa 1600 B.C.). Stuart Piggott, (Ed.), *The Dawn of Civilization*, 1961, p.218, plate 70.

27. *Israel Exploration Journal*, VIII, 1958, pp.174-184. The iron fork was found in Tomb 521 at Tell Ed Duweir in a group which could be dated in early 10th century B.C. Olga Tufnell, *LACHISH III, The Iron Age*, 1953, text p.222, plate 56:38, 40:7. The fork is now preserved at the Institute of Archaeology, University of London. I am grateful to Miss Kaye Wright of the Institute for drawing my attention to this.

28. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1902-03, p.14 and figure 17.



sides the fork, iron banner bases and representations of a cock in bronze have been found at Ādiccanallūr<sup>29</sup>. The practice of wearing mouth pieces still maintained by devotees carrying the *kāvaḍi* (pole for carrying offerings) to the shrine of Murugan may well be a survival from prehistoric times.<sup>30</sup> An interesting sculpture of Hanumān carrying the *Kāvaḍi* is seen at Koṟkai<sup>31</sup>. The people of Ādiccanallūr cultivated rice; several bowls of earthenware with husks of paddy and bronze bowls with grains of rice have also been discovered.

Observations at the ancient site of Kaḷugumalai were made by Cammiade in 1930.<sup>32</sup> The discovery of pyriform earthen pots at Ukki-rankōṭṭai<sup>33</sup> similar to those found at other prehistoric sites of Tenkāṣi and Śivaśailam make the place a very ancient settlement. Among the potsherds found in the fort area were those with an ancient bead and wavy line ornament, also found in other sites of the district. This area when more fully explored will yield evidence of pre-christian settlements of pre-christian times. Burial urns of the *maḍamaḍattān-tāḷi* type and one which was of 11 inches circumference, with a complete set of human bones including a perfect skull, has been found at the site of Koṟkai. Regular and systematic excavation of Koṟkai, which would throw much valuable light on Dravidian culture, has not yet been attempted.

The existence of a big cave called Paratēṣippudai<sup>34</sup> near Kuṟṟālam suggests an ancient abode of cave dwellers and later religious mendicants or nomads. This is attested by the presence of rock-hewn steps leading to it, as in the case of other caverns of Tirunelvēli district discussed below. The small undeciphered inscription in Brāhmī like characters seems to refer to Eliy or Eliya, by which perhaps is meant the chiefs of the Mūṣaka Vaṃṣa, with whom Elimalai on the west coast

29. *Ibid*, p.123 and figure 4. K.De.B. Codrington has noticed bronze.

30. There is a place called Valliyūr, eight miles south-west of Naṅgunēri, named after Valli, the consort of Murugan. Murugankuricci in Tirunelvēli district is a popular shrine of Murugan worship. At both these shrines the pilgrims wear mouthpieces and carry *kāvaḍis*.

31. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1936-37, plate xxviii.

32. *Man*, xxx, 1930, No.137, p.187.

33. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1936-37, plate xxviii, c and d.

34. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, p.57 and plate.

has been connected<sup>35</sup>. The small natural cavern with Brāhmī inscriptions formed by two huge boulders one overhanging the other, lying in the middle of a hill called Pūviludaiyār malai at Marugāltalai, ten miles from Palamkōttai deserves notice. In the right top corner of the space cut is an inscription in Brāhmī, closely resembling the script of the Aśokan edicts, but with certain special features. At the bottom left corner of the cave are seven beds which may have been meant for resting upon. The earliest Tamil literary texts are dated round about the beginning of the Christian era. The discovery of these Brāhmī inscriptions in the caves of Madurai and Tirunelvēli districts as at Ānamalai, Ariṭṭapaṭṭi, Marugāltalai and Vīraśikhāmaṇi and their decipherment, analysis and interpretation by H. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri<sup>36</sup>, K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar<sup>37</sup> and C. Nārāyaṇa Rao<sup>38</sup> raised the question of an independent Drāviḍi script. Though these inscriptions have not disclosed any king's name, their script bears a close relation to the Brāhmī script of the records found at Bhaṭṭiprōlu and Amarāvati in Āndhra Pradesh which may be dated in the first century A.D. as suggested recently by A.H. Dani<sup>39</sup>. The same scholar's cautious dating of the cave inscriptions of South India in the first half of the first century A.D. seems acceptable<sup>40</sup>.

The reading of the Marugāltalai record as given by Subrahmanya Ayyar is *Veṇ Kōsipan kuṭupitā kāḷa kāñcaṇam*. *Veṇ* is taken as a territorial division, probably referring to Travancore. Another possibility is that it may stand for *Vēl* or chief, very frequently mentioned in the Saṅgam texts. *Kōsipan* is taken to be *Kāśyapa* in Sanskrit, *Kassapa* in Pāli, as a proper name. *Kuṭupitā* is interpreted as 'caused to be made'. In the compound *Kāḷa kāñcaṇam*, *kāḷa* is to be derived from *kalyā* or *kālya*, 'auspicious' or 'sacred', *Kāñcaṇam* meaning gold<sup>41</sup>.

35. *A.R.S. Ind Ep*, 1929-30, part II, para 46. For a later account of the kingdom of Eli, the reader is referred to Sir Henry Yule, *The Book of Sir Marco polo*, II, 1903, pp. 385-387.

36. *Proc. Tr. All. India Or. Conf*, 1922, pp. 327-348.

37. *Ibid*, 1925, pp. 275-300; also *A.R. Ep*, 1915, plate I facing p. 86; 1918, plate I, facing p. 7.

38. *New. Ind. Ant*, I, 1938, pp. 362-376.

39. *Indian Palaeography*, 1963, pp. 71-72.

40. *ibid*, pp. 68-74

41. Narayana Rao's reading of the record (*Vēṇākī sipāna kutupitā kāḷa kāñcanam*, the *kālakāñcanam* built by a woman follower of Buddhist *vi naya* doctrine whose personal name was *Vēṇākī*) is far fetched. *New. Ind. Ant*, I, 1938, p. 365.



**C. Some Important references to the oldest history of the area in Śaṅgam Literature, in Greek and Latin, and in Chinese works.**

The early Indians were acquainted with the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī long before they knew anything of its inland course or of the falls in the mountains, and it was at the place where it joined the sea that people bathed and performed austerities, as the Gods are said to have done according to the *Mahābhārata*. Tambapanni occurs in Aśoka's rock edicts where it may, however, have indicated Ceylon. To the Greeks, who visited India the island was known as Taprobane.<sup>42</sup> Koṛkai at the mouth of the Tāmraparṇī must have been the chief seaport. There is a tradition according to which Cēra, Cōla and Pāṇḍya ruled together at Koṛkai as three brothers. The properties held by them in common were at Mukkāni, "The three Properties" near Koṛkai. They eventually separated, the Pāṇḍya remaining at home, the Cōla and Cēra establishing kingdom of their own to the west and north. This is probably a popular myth, but similar representation, possibly an echo of this tradition, is found in the *Harivaṃsa*<sup>43</sup> where Pāṇḍya, Kērala, Kōla and Cōla are said to be the sons of Ākrīḍa, the adopted son of Turvasu, a prince of the Lunar line of Kṣatriyas. Kōla may probably be connected with *kōliyar*<sup>44</sup>, mentioned in the Śaṅgam texts or it could be Kōlam or Kōlattu nāḍu, described in the *Kēralamahātmyam*, a much later work. The *Puraṇānūṟu*<sup>45</sup> a Śaṅgam text possibly of the first or second century A.D., mentions the title *Koṛkai-āli*, given to Kulaśēkhara, the supposed founder of the Pāṇḍya dynasty. The *Śilappadikāram*, another literary text of probably the fifth century A.D. refers to Verṇivēr Cēliyan as a Pāṇḍya viceroy at Koṛkai.<sup>46</sup> It appears that Koṛkai was the earliest home and centre of the three main ruling families of ancient South India. It may also have been the residence of the early

42. Eratosthenes quoted by Strabo XV.I.14; J.Oliver Thomson, *The History of Ancient Geography*, 1948, pp.131, 302-303.

43. M.A.Langlois, *Harivaṃsa ou Histoire de la famille de Hari*, I, 1834, p.154; M.N.Dutt, *A Prose English translation of Harivaṃsa*, 1897, pp.136-137

44. T.Burrow, 'Dravidian Studies', in *B.S.O.A.S.*, XI, 1946, pp.122-126.

45. Edited by U.V.Saminātha Aiyar, 1932, strophe. 183; P. Meile, in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, p.301.

46. Edited by U.V. Sāminātha Aiyar, *nirppadaikkātai*, lines 127 ff.; also P.Meile, in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, pp.309-310.

Pāṇḍyas in the fifth century B.C., to whom the king of Tambapanni is said to have sent an embassy to negotiate a marriage alliance. The *Mahāvamsa*<sup>47</sup>, while recording this incident, mentions that 'Southern Madura' was the place where the Pāṇḍyas lived and ruled at this time. This appears to be an anachronism. The existence of Korkai as the early Pāṇḍya centre may have been forgotten at the time of the composition of the *Mahāvamsa* in the reign of Dhātusēna in the sixth century A.D. It was the belief of the earliest Sinhalese that the Pāṇḍya kingdom was in existence long before Vijaya's supposed arrival in Ceylon and the consequent aryanisation<sup>48</sup> which synchronised with the *nirvāṇa* of Buddha<sup>49</sup>.

A large quantity of conch shells was found at the site of Korkai, testifying to the existence of an ancient conch factory, manufacturing shell ornaments, bangles, rings and beads<sup>50</sup>. A valuable reference to the conch trade is contained in two Tamil verses which purport to relate a discussion between a brāhmaṇa and Nakkīrar, the celebrated poet in the reign of Neḍuñceliyan II,<sup>51</sup> who may be dated about the beginning of the second century A.D. Tarumi (Dharmi), the brāhmaṇa presented to the Śaṅgam a poem composed with the help of Śiva. Nakkīrar, the president, criticised the poem in spite of its supposedly divine origin and rejected it as unworthy of literary recognition. The brāhmaṇa presented another poem also inspired by Śiva, and in the following lines tried to ridicule the president on account of his caste:

*Aṅkaṅkulaiyarivāli ney pūṣi p-  
paṅkampāṭa viranṭu-kāl parappi ccaṅkatanai  
kīṛ kīrenav-aṟukkuṇ kīranōv-aṇ kaviyai  
yārāyum-uḷḷattavan*

'Is Kīran fit to criticise my poem? Spreading his knees wide,

47. VII. 49-52. Translated by W.Geiger, 1912, p.59.

48. A.L.Basham, 'Prince Vijaya and the Aryanisation of Ceylon' in *C.H.J.*, I, 1952, pp.163-171.

49. B.N.Barua, 'The Year of Commencement of the Buddha Era' in *Uni.Ceyl.Rev.*, V, 1947, pp.62-76; R.Morton Smith, 'On Ancient Chronology of India (III)' in *J.A.O.S.*, 78, 1958, pp.174-192.

50. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1936-37, plate xxxvii c and d; J.Hernell, *The Sacred Shank of India - A Monograph on the Indian Conch*, 1914, pp.42-47.

51. P.Meile, in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, p.300.

his joints loosened ( by labour ), does he not saw chank (conch) into sections, the ghee-smeared saw murmuring the while, *kīr-kīr?*'.

The verse contains a play on the president's name and the sound given out during the sawing of conch. The reply of Nakkīrar to this

*Śaṅkaruppatēṅkaḷ kulan caṅkaranārkketu kulam*  
*paṅkamar cconnāl paḷutāmē Śaṅkai*  
*yarintuṇṭu vālvōmaranē nin pōla*  
*virantuṇṭu vālvatillai*<sup>52</sup>

'Chank cutting is indeed the calling of my caste. Of that I am not ashamed. But of what caste is śaṅkara? We earn our living by cutting chank. We do not live by begging as he did', (an allusion to the popular legend where Śiva manifests himself as Bhikṣātana).

Dharmi's description of the conch-cutter's craft is vivid; in a dozen words he gives a realistic picture of the cutter's workshop, the men seated on the ground with their knees widely spread and depressed outwards almost to the ground to give free play to the crescent-shaped two handled saw monotonously droning a single note as it cuts its way laboriously through the hard substance of the shell. Traditionally Nakkīrar, the conch-cutter was a *paravan*. At the beginning of the Christian era, conch-fishing and cutting were among the important occupations at Korṅkai.

The first centre of the Pāṇḍyas was at Korṅkai, the Colchi of the Greek writers. The dominant powers in South India in the beginning of the first century A.D. seem to have been the Pāṇḍyas, Cēras and Cōlas. Strabo<sup>53</sup> mentions an embassy from King Pandion to Augustus in 20 B.C. Pliny<sup>54</sup> the *Periplus*<sup>55</sup> and Ptolemy<sup>56</sup> all agree in their accounts of

52. These two verses in *Veṇḇā* metre are cited by J.Hornell in *The Sacred Chank of India, A monograph on the Indian Conch*, 1914, pp.43-44. Hornell does not mention the source where these verses are found.

53. XV.4 and 73; J.W.McCrindle, *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, 1901 pp.9 and 77. For a special account of this embassy the reader is referred to *J.R.A.S.*, 1860 pp.309-321.

54. VI.23. Edited by H. Rackham, 1942, pp.391-99.

55. W.H.Schoff, *The Periplus of Erythrean Sea*, 1912, pp.44-46.

56. VII. J.W.McCrindle, *Ancient India as described by Ptolemy*, 1885, pp.53-69; R.C.Majumdar, *Classical Accounts of India*, 1960, pp.364-67.

the prosperous trade of the seaports. The trade was largely in pearls, gems and spices. The main highway across South India over which the goods for the western trade were brought was Accankōvil pass and the terminus of this trade route was the port at Becare, mentioned by most of the Greek writers. Becare is probably identifiable as Porakāḍu in the land of the Pandion. It should be noted that Kālidāsa in the *Raghuvamśa*<sup>57</sup> refers to Uragapura as town belonging to the Pāṇdyas.

The pearl fishery at Kōrkai was according to the *Periplus*<sup>58</sup>, worked by the convicted criminals of the Pāṇdyas in the first century A.D. Ptolemy mentions the emporium at Kolkhoi where pearl diving was practised. Ptolemy's knowledge of India was derived from Greek sources, which were mostly contemporaneous. He may have consulted the *Periplus* in addition to the itineraries of the Greek merchants, who had visited the interior of India. He had also opportunities to supplement his sources by oral information at Alexandria. The knowledge thus gained was deficient and his conclusions were bound to be often inaccurate<sup>59</sup>. The trade in pearls for the Roman market was very extensive, with the port of Kolkhoi serving as a primary depot<sup>60</sup>. Claudius Aelianus, who settled in Rome and taught rhetoric in the time of Hadrian gives an account of the techniques of pearl fishing in his work *On the Peculiarities of Animals*, xv.8 (circa second to third century A.D.)<sup>61</sup>. The *Maduraikkāñci*<sup>62</sup> a Tamil literary text composed between the third and sixth centuries A.D. mentions the *Paravas* and the priceless pearls for which they dived.

An important product of the Kōrkai coast is the conch (śaṅku) which is valued as a sacred and musical instrument in Hindu ceremonies. Shell artefacts of a great age in the ruins of Ur, Kish and Lagash were made from the porcelain-like snow-white shell of the sa-

57. Edited by M.R.Kale, 1922, sarga VI, strophes 59-60.

58. W.H.Schoff, *The Periplus of Erythrean Sea*, 1921, p.46.

59. J.Ph.Vogel, 'Ptolemy's Topography of India-His Sources' in *Archaeologica Orientalia*, 1952, pp.226-234.

60. E.H.Warmington, *The Commerce between India and the Roman Empire*, 1928, pp.167-168.

61. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, 1939, p.6.

62. Edited with a commentary by P.V.Sōmasundaram, 1956, pp.5,58, lines 140-144; translation by J.V.Chelliah, 1946, p.172; also P.Meile in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, p.300.



cred Indian *Śankha* known scientifically as *Xancus* (*Turbinella*) *Pyrum* (L). This large conch is found only in the coastal waters of South India and Ceylon, its main habitat being the sands between and around the rock-strewn pearl banks of the Gulf of Mannār. The presence of articles made from conch is positive proof of commercial intercourse with South India<sup>63</sup>. The conch industry at Korkai was the earliest to be established, the most productive conch factory in India being located immediately off this part of the coast. Korkai flourished from an indeterminate date before the Christian era down to about 1000 A.D., when the accretion of silt in the delta of the Tāmraparṇī necessitated the building of a new city, Kāyal, further downstream at the new mouth of the river. Hornell discovered a series of conch workshop waste at a site adjacent to the spot where Pāṇḍyan coins had been found from time to time as erosion exposed the underlying deposits. All the fragments bear signs of having been cut by means of a thin-bladed saw, striae run across the clearly cut surfaces. The majority are obliquely cut 'shoulder pieces', others being columellae broken free and the rest lip fragments<sup>64</sup>.

Early Tamil literary texts refer to Neḍuntērceliyan also known as Neḍuñceliyan, the conqueror of Kūḍal. Kūḍal near Madurai may then have been under Akutaī, a king mentioned in the *Puraṇāṇūru*<sup>65</sup>, a Saṅgam text of the first-second century A.D. This identification could be confirmed with the help of the reference of Paraṇar in *Akaṇāṇūru*<sup>66</sup> and those in *Kuruntokai*<sup>67</sup>, both Saṅgam texts of the first or second centuries A.D. The capture of Kūḍal by the Pāṇḍya king of Korkai is again alluded to in the *Akaṇāṇūru*<sup>68</sup>. A port and the Pāṇḍya capital Madurai are noted by Pliny.

There is another more servicable port, belonging to the Neaeyndil tribe called Porakad: this is where king Pandion reigned, his capital being so far in the interior a long way from the port, called Madura;

63. *Antiquity*, 1941, pp.239-240, 246-256; 1942, p.132.

64. *Antiquity*, 1942, pp.127-128.

65. Edited by U.V.Samīnātha Aiyar, 1932, p.463, strophe 347.

66. Edited by N.M.Venkaṭasāmi Nāṭṭar, 1949 p.181, strophe 76.

67. Edited by U.V.Samīnātha Aiyar, 1947, p 610, strophe 298.

68. Strophes 27, 201, and 296.

while the port from which pepper is conveyed to Becare in canoes made of hollowed tree trunks is called Cottonara!<sup>69</sup>

From all the available historical evidence, it may be concluded that Korakai was an ancient seaport from early times (at least in the first century A.D.). Kātyāyana, who explained the aphorisms of Pāṇini, mentions the countries of the extreme south; Cōla, Pāṇḍya and Kērala. Baudhāyana<sup>70</sup> refers to the practice of cross-cousin marriages in South India. Baudhāyana's notice belongs to a period a little later than 400-300 B.C. This may probably be the starting point for the continuous movement of the Āryans to South India. This āryanisation of the South may have provided the historical basis for the Agastya legends which figure prominently in the Epics and the Purāṇas as well as in early Tamil literature.

Agastya is mentioned in *Paripatal*,<sup>71</sup> a Tamil collection of a stratum of Sangam literature later than *Pattupāṭṭu*<sup>72</sup> and *Puraṇānūru*, texts of the second to fourth century A.D. and in early Pāṇḍya copper-plate inscriptions<sup>73</sup> as the *purōhita* of the Pāṇḍyas. There are many places connected with Agastya in South India<sup>74</sup> There are several Agastya temples along the Tāmraparṇī. On a rocky wall above the Kalyāṇatīrtham falls is a sculpture of Agastya standing before Śiva and Pārvati as Kalyāṇasundara in worshipful *Abhimāna*. Six miles further down there are two more temples of Agastya at Ambāsamudram and Kallidaikkuricci, where the weaving communities of the two towns specially worship him. At Kallidaikkuricci, Agastya is associated

69. *Natural History*, edited and translated by B. Rackham, Book VI, 1947, pp. 418-419. Rackham's translation identifies Becare as Porakad. Also E.M. Warmington, *The Commerce between India and the Roman Empire* 1928, p.167.

70. *Baudhāyana Dharmasūtra*, edited by L. Śrinivasācārya, 1907, pp.7-8.

71. strophe 11; K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, 'Agastya' in *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.*, LXXVI, 1936, pp.471-545; P. Thieme, 'Agastya and Lopamudrā' in *Z.D.M.G.* 113, 1963, pp. 69-79.

72. Translated into English verse by J.V. Chelliah, 1946.

73. Larger Sinnamanur Plates, 1, Strophe 3, in *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, p.451; Velvikkudi plates, strophes 2-3 in *Ep. Ind.*, XVII, 1925-26, p.298; Madras Museum Plates, strophe 4 in *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, 1893, p.70.

74. Agastyampalli in Tanjore, Agastyamalai same as Podiyamalai and Agastisvaram near the sea, three and a half miles from Cape Comorin. For a discussion of these see *J.I.H.* XXXVI, 1958, pp.1-8.



with Kārttikēya, who is there considered his *guru*<sup>75</sup>. The sage is also worshipped by seafarers<sup>76</sup>. The *Kumāratantra*<sup>77</sup> mentions him as one of the *parivāra-dēvatas*. The *Aṃṣumadbhedāgama* and *Pūrvakaraṇāgama*<sup>78</sup> include him in the list of *saptarṣi* with Manu, Vasiṣṭha, Gotama, Angiras, Viśvāmitra and Bhāradvāja. The legend of the three Śaṅgam narrated in the *Iraiyanār akapporuḷ urai*<sup>79</sup> counts Agastya with Śiva and Subrahmaṇya among the members of the first Śaṅgam, which is said to have lasted for 4440 years. Tṛṇavindu-maharṣi also seems to have been his associate.<sup>80</sup> There is a sculpture of Tṛṇavindu in the Museum at Jakarta. There is another group at Tjandi Redjo, Java, where two small figures of Tṛṇavindu and Marīci in ascetic robes are found on either side of a figure of another *ṛsi*. In a cave at Gunung Kombeng well away from the confluence of Pantun with Kedang Rantau, in Kutai, East Borneo, a group of Śaiva sculptures of Śiva, Gaṇeśa, a *ṛsi*, Nandiśvara, Mahākāla, Kārttikēya and Brahma has been found<sup>81</sup>. They may have been placed in the niches of one or more temples in the area.

Chinese texts such as the *Sung-shi* and *Ma Twan-Lin*<sup>82</sup> of the tenth to the twelfth centuries A.D. record fairly full details of the political missions of the Cōla empire to China. The first mission to

75. *Tijdschr. Bat. Gen.*, LXXVI, 1936, p.545.

76. F.H.Gravely and T.N.Ramachandran, *Catalogue of South Indian Hindu Metal Images in the Madras Museum*, B.Madr.Govt.Mus, II, 1932, p.16.

77. T.A.Gopinatha Rao, *Elements of Hindu Iconography*, II, part II, 1916, p.423; J.Filliozat, *Le Kumāratantra de Rāvaṇa*, 1937.

78. T.A.Gopinatha Rao, *op.cit.*, p.567, Appendix B, pp.277-278.

79. The end of the eighth century A.D. is the earliest period to which the *urai* may be assigned. P.Meile, in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, pp.306-307.

80. J.L.A.Brandes, *Archaeologisch Onderzoek op Java en Madura*, II-Tjandi Singasari, 1909, plates 79 and 80; Jessy Blom, *Antiquities of Singasari*, 1939, pp.12, 90-91 and 144; V.R.Ramachandra Dikshitar, *Some Aspects of the Vāyu Purāṇa*, 1933, pp.31-33.

81. B.Ch. Chhabra, 'Expansion of Indo-Aryan Culture during Pallava rule' in *J.A.S.B.*, I, 1935, pp.31-33.

82. Ssu-Yu Tang and Knight Biggerstaff, *An Annotated Bibliography of Selected Chinese Reference Works*, 1950, pp.150-151.

reach China from the Cōla country was that of A.D.1015<sup>83</sup>. The thirteenth century Chinese author Chau-Ju-Kua gives useful information about the technique of pearl fishing.

'Whenever pearls are fished for they make use of thirty or forty boats, with crews of several dozens of men (to each). Pearlfishers, with ropes fastened around their bodies, their ears and noses stopped with yellow wax, are let down into the water about 200 or 300 feet or more, the ropes being fastened on board. When a man makes a sign by shaking the rope, he is pulled up. Before this is done, however, a soft quilt is made as hot as possible in the boiling water, in order to throw over the diver the moment he comes out, lest he should be seized with a fit of ague and die.'<sup>84</sup>

**D. Some important Archaeological Monuments of the area dated between the seventh and tenth centuries A.D.**

At Vādikōṭṭai, near Aḷagāpuri, seven miles north of Śaṅkarankōvil there is a small rock-cut temple nine feet square and six feet high excavated out of the base of the hill. Two life-size *dvārapālaka* bas-reliefs guard the entrance and unlike the similar temples at Vīraśikhāmani and Tirumalāpuram discussed below, the shrine does not contain a rock-cut *linga* or any other sculpture or bas-relief on the hind wall of the *garbhagrha*. At Malayādikuricci, twelve miles north of Śaṅkarankōvil an early Pāṇḍya cave temple bearing a contemporaneous foundation inscription in *vaṭṭeḷuttu*, has been discovered. The inscription is dated in the seventeenth regnal year of Māraṇ Śendan and records the excavation of the cave temple dedicated to Śiva. Palaeographically the inscription may be assigned to the seventh century A.D., making it the earliest known of Pāṇḍya inscriptions.<sup>85</sup> The other Pāṇḍya rock-cut cave temples in the Tirunelvēli district are: 1) Pēccippārai, Cokkampatti, with two *dvārapālaka* figures on either side of the shrine entrance. 2) Sēdamaram cave temple and the sculpture of Nandi at the foot of the Vīraśikhāmani hill.<sup>86</sup> In this cave temple there is sculpture of a *rṣi* whose figure except for the face is worn out. The

83. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *Foreign Notices of South India from Megasthenes to Ma Huan*, 1939, pp.25-26.

84. Chau-Ju-Kua: His work on the Chinese and Arab Trade in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, entitled *Chu-fan-chi*, translated and annotated by Friedrich Hirth and W.W.Rockhill, 1911, pp.229-230.

85. *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1958-59, p.82; 1959-60, p.58

86. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1935-36, plate xxviii.

face is serene, showing the devotion with which the sculptor fashioned the sage in an area where Agastya is worshipped as a great benefactor. 3) Tirumalāpuram, four miles east of Kaḍayanallūr: This cave temple faces north and has two pillars and pilasters. The pillars have lotus designs and are cubical and octogonal in the middle sections. The corbels (*pōtika*) are ornamented with *tarāṅga* with a median band and *patralatā* designs. On the eastern wall facing the west is a panel with the sculpture of Brahma. The southern wall has three panels divided by two pilasters. The panel on the extreme left has the sculpture of Natarāja dancing between two *gaṇa* in worshipping posture. The third panel has a beautiful sculpture of Gaṇeśa.<sup>87</sup> 4) The cave temple at Kuṟukkutturai, near Tirunelvēli, and 5) The sand stone excavation of the shrine of Subrahmanya near the sea shore at Tiruccendūr also deserve notice.

The only known Pāṇḍya monolith at Kaḷugumalai, though unfinished, is a very interesting example from the point of view of its architecture and very fine sculpture. It appears to be somewhat later than the two Pallava monoliths known as Dharmarāja *ratha* and Arjuna *ratha* at Māmallapuram and a little later than, if not co-eval with, the Rāṣṭrakūṭa monolith, the Kailāsanātha at Ellōra. It is a typical *dvitaḷa vimāna*, *samacaturaśra* in plan with an *astāśra śikhara*. The Kaḷugumalai monolith definitely marks a very important stage in the development of the South Indian *vimāna* in so far as it shows for the first time the disposition of the various deities in definite places appropriate to them a feature which forms the norm of *vimānas* of subsequent periods.<sup>88</sup>

Ukkirankōṭṭai; 14 miles north-west of Tirunelvēli is an important site of the historical period. Sewell<sup>89</sup> mentions a fort with some connection with Ugra<sup>90</sup> Pāṇḍya, which seems no more extant. There is an ancient temple of Cokkanāyaki Amman with sculptural stone

87. For a detailed description the reader is referred to *J.I.S.O.A.*, IV, 1936, pp.65-71, and plates.

88. C.Sivaramurthi has published a short monograph on *Kaḷugumalai and Early Pāṇḍya Rock Cut Shrines*, 1961. The Temple Survey Project of the Archaeological Survey of India have completed a survey of Pāṇḍya cave temples and their results are awaited.

89. *List of Antiquities*, I, 1882, p.311.

90. For an admirable elucidation of the concept of Ugra in Ancient India the reader is referred to J.Gonda, *Ancient Indian ojas, Latin augos and Indo-European names in -es/-os*, 1952, pp.6-9, 13-15, 20-21, 25, 30, 36.

eaves and friezes and fragments of *vatteluttu* inscriptions which may be assigned to the ninth or tenth centuries A.D. on palaeographic grounds<sup>91</sup>. There are some early images of Viṣṇu in *sukhāsana* and a *saptamātrkā* group lying scattered in the *prākāra*. These finds confirm the connection of the place with the early Pāṇḍyas. The *vatteluttu* inscription of Śaḍaiyamāran, who is to be identified with Rājasimha III, is dated in year 13 opposite the 2nd (i.e. the 15th year) and refers to donations made to a temple (*vaikartanālaya*) of Ādityabhaṭāra, testifying to the existence of a Sūrya temple there in the tenth century A.D.<sup>92</sup> The place itself is called Karavandapuram in its inscriptions with its surname Kalakkudi. The fort associated with Ukkiran or Ugra may owe its origin to the early Pāṇḍya king Ugra otherwise known as Ukkiraperuvaludi in the *Puraṇānūru*<sup>93</sup> or to Ugra Pāṇḍya, the prince whom Parāntaka Vīranārāyaṇa Śaḍaiyan (A.D.900) held as prisoner in the Battle of Kharagiri. The Madras Museum plates of Neḍuñceliyan<sup>94</sup> make it clear that he built a fort with a broad stone ditch and a lofty wall. Karavandapuram may have been a local capital with a primitive fortification during the reign of Ukkiraperuvaludi and it seems to have been developed into an impenetrable fort and stronghold by Neḍuñceliyan in about A.D.785. It was temporarily in the possession of Ugra Pāṇḍya a century later, and thus acquired the name which has survived to the present. That the fortification was of extensive dimensions can be made out from the fact that the temple of Ādityabhaṭāra, which is described in the inscriptions of Śaḍaiyamāran as being situated in Kīl vāy or Eastern Gateway, apparently of the fortified village, is half a mile distant from the Cokkanāyaki Amman shrine, which as implied by the name *vaḍavāy naṅgai* must have been located in the Northern Gateway. The shrines of Cokknāyaki and Āditya were located in the appropriate direction of east and north in conformity with the rule prescribed by

91. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep*, 1935-36, Nos.194-204.

92. *Ep. Ind.*, XXIII, 1934-35, ( 1939 ), pp.285-286.

93. Strophes 21 and 367. A later version of the birth of Ukkira Pāṇḍya and his activities as represented in the *Tiruvilaiyādal Purāṇam* paintings in the Mīnākṣi Sundarēśvara temple at Madurai is given in R. Dessigane, P.Z. Pattabhiramin et J.Filliozat, *La Legend des Jeux de Civa a Madurai d' apres les textes et les peintures*, 1960, fascicule pp.18 ff; fascicule 2, planche ix et x.

94. *Ind. Ant.*, XXII, 1893, p.74.



the *Arthaśāstra*<sup>95</sup> and the *Āgamās*<sup>96</sup> that the shrine of cardinal deities should be erected in the appropriate cardinal points inside a fort. From the other inscriptions there it is learnt that there were two Śiva temples called Arikēsarivarman and Rājasiṅgiśvaram<sup>97</sup> in the vicinity though not inside the fort itself, and named as such after the Pāṇḍya kings Arikēsari and Rājasimha.

The Śiva temple at Tiruvāliśvaram is a *samacaturaśra dvitaḷa vimāna* with an *aṣṭāśra śikhara* in the Drāviḍa style of architecture, closely resembling the Vāliśvara temple at Kāñcīpuram, datable to the last quarter of the ninth century A.D. In its iconographic contents the Tiruvāliśvaram temple is a veritable museum of superb early Cōla sculpture. In the niches of the *pañjaras* of its *vimāna* and the recesses between them in the *taḷas*, there are sculptures of Śiva in his various forms. On the Southern side there is Naṭarāja, in the centre, with Vṛṣabhāruḍha and Gaṅgādhara on the left and Vīrabhadra and Dēvi on the right. The western side has Liṅgodbhava with Viṣṇu and Brahmā on either side of the centre, Kālaharamūrti and Kirātamūrti on the left and Yōga Dakṣiṇāmūrti and Umāsahita on the right. On the southern side there is also a representation of Ardhanārī in *tribhaṅga* pose resting on *nandi* which is a vigorous representation, its features being rugged as compared to the Ardhanārī figures on the Dharmarāja *ratha* at Māmallapuram and the one on the Nāgēśvara shrine at Kumbhakōṇam. The northern side of the *vimāna* has bas-reliefs of Gajasamharamūrti in the centre, Caṇḍeśānugraha and Sukhāsanamūrti on the right and Sōmāskanda on the left. There is also a sculpture of Indra on *Airāvata*. In the lower storey, the following sculptures are found:

1. Kaṅkālamūrti, accompanied by Pārvati and a *gaṇa*;
2. Vyākhyā Dakṣiṇāmūrti;
3. Liṅgodbhava;
4. Tripurāntaka, which is a splendid representation. The pose of the sculpture recalls the Rāma and Tripurāntaka figures of the

95. R.P.Kangle, *The Kauṭīliya Arthaśāstra*, part I, 1960, p.29.

96. *Uttarakāmikāgama*, *patala* 61; N.V.Mallayya, *Studies in Sanskrit Texts on Temple Architecture with special reference to Tantrasamuccaya*, 1949. p.113; Marīci, *Vaikhānasāgama*, edited by K.Sambaśiva Śāstri, Trivandrum Sanskrit Series, No.CXXI, 1935, *patala* 201.

97. For Rājasimha Isvaram.

Brhadīśvara temple at Tanjore and the Śiva temple at Māyavaram. This appears to have been a favourite theme of the Cōla artists. It is vividly represented in the paintings of the Tanjore temple.

The *vyāḷa* frieze on the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple consists of the full figures of the animal and not just the bust alone as in the many other early Cōla temples such as the Korāṅganātha at Śrīnivāsanallūr and Mūvarkōvil at Koḍumbālur. The *gaṇa* frieze below the *kapōta* is very well composed showing the figures in different dance poses, some having comic features such as lion or monkey faces with pot bellies and the whole scene of dancing, mockery and music is very humorously portrayed. The entire *kapōta* is elaborately embellished by designs of foliage and creepers (*patralatā*) as are the intervening spaces between the *kūḍu*, highly ornate arches surrounded by *siṃhamukha*.

The first *taḷa* of the *vimāna* has the series of fine sculptures described already, which are of the greatest interest for the iconographic development of the period. The eastern side of the first *taḷa* is hidden by a brick terrace put up in modern times over the *ardha-maṇḍapa*. The second *taḷa* reproduces on a reduced scale the ornamental features of the exterior of the *garbhagrha*, including the friezes of *gaṇas* and *vyāḷas*. Above the second *taḷa* are four recumbent bulls, life-like, placed one at each corner, facing outwards. From the centre, rises an octagonal *bhitti* (wall)-like *grīva*, supporting dome-like *aṣṭāśra* above. The *grīva* has niches on the cardinal points having the sculptures of Vyākhyā Dakṣiṇāmūrti, Yōga Narasiṃha, Brahmā and Indra on the south, west, north and east respectively, appropriately and in conformity with the rules prescribed by the *Āgamas* and *Śilpaśāstras*. Over the highly ornate *śikhara* are the *mahāpadma* and *paṭṭika* with the *stūpi* above. A close study of the architectural and iconographic features of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple reveals affinities with the earlier Pallava temples at Panamalai and the group of structural temples at Kāñcīpuram. The nucleus of the temple itself may date from early Cōla period prior to Rājarāja I (A.D. 985-1016), though the *garbhagrha* does not have inscriptions earlier than the period of Rājarāja. The *ardha-maṇḍapa* in front of the shrine is co-eval with it, but the *mahā-maṇḍapa* was a later addition probably in the reign of Rājendra I, while the shrine of the goddess Saundaryanāyaki and that of Subrahmanya are still later. The frieze of animals in high relief, the stone construction from base to finial (*upānādistūpiparyantam*) and the simple *śālā* are very early features of the architectural style.

The other small and notable temples of the period of Rājarāja are the Uttara Kailāsa at Tiruvadi, Tanjore district, the Vaidyanātha at Tirumūlavādi, Trichinopoly district, the twin temples of Śiva and Viṣṇu at Dādāpuram, South Arcot district, the temple at Madagadipattu<sup>98</sup> 15 miles to the west of Pondichery and the Śiva Devale No.2 at Polonnaruva, Ceylon, but none of these approach Tiruvāliśvaram in sculpture.

The Tiruvāliśvaram temple complex has fifty-three inscriptions of the Cōlas, their viceroys cum subordinates the Cōla-Pāṇḍyas, and the Pāṇḍyas, ranging in date between the tenth and thirteenth centuries A.D. The texts of these records have not been published so far except for very brief summaries in the Annual Reports<sup>99</sup> of the Epigraphy Branch of the Department of Archaeology, Government of India. They throw a good deal of valuable light on social, economic, political and cultural life of South India during this period and are indispensable for a study of the development and growth of the Tamil language, script and grammar of the period. In working out the present thesis, these inscriptions, which are critically edited with transcriptions and translations, besides several others, were a principal source. Between the third century B.C. and A.D. 1300, more than 75000 records in Tamil, Telugu, Kannada, Sanskrit and Malayālam are preserved, furnishing the researcher with a mine of information on the lives and times of the inhabitants of South India, with a fullness unequalled in Southern Asia. Regrettably, all the texts of these have not been published fully and, of the published ones, the greater part has inadequate editorial comment. The collection in the volumes of Annual Reports on Epigraphy, South Indian Inscriptions, Epigraphia India, Epigraphia Carnatica, Epigraphia Zeylanica, Mysore Archaeological Reports, Travancore Archaeological Series, Inscriptions of Pudukkōttai State, South Indian Temple Inscriptions, Annual Reports of the Archaeological Survey of India and the Hyderabad Archaeological Series do, however, provide part of the extant material in transliteration and in some cases translations with very helpful notes and comments. The majority of the material as yet remains unpublished though it is hoped that the huge

98. P.Z.Pattabhiramin, *Temple de madagadipattou, (985-1014 A.D.)*, 1951.

99. A.R.Ep., 1905, Nos.115-120; 1916, Nos.327-372. The Tamil texts of eight of these inscriptions are included in S.I.I, XIV, *The Pāṇḍyas*, 1962, Nos.141, 160, 161, 170, 187, 196, 220 and 239.



and unexplored mass will soon be available in print to facilitate the production of a full-scale work on the history of South India.

Accuracy of readings is very important for this work and was secured by a constant reference to the original estampages of these inscriptions, which were very generously made available for this study by the Government Epigraphist for India, Ootacamund, South India.

The archaeological evidence bearing on the subject of our study is very extensive. Not much help is derived from numismatics; only a few gold coins of the Pāṇḍyas bearing the figures of fish characteristic of the dynasty are known.<sup>100</sup> But Roman coins of Hadrian and others have been found in Tirunelveli district and other parts of South India, with an abundance of copper issues of the fourth and fifth centuries A.D.<sup>101</sup> The majority of the medieval Pāṇḍya coins reveal the influence of the Coḷa conquest by the presence of a figure of a tiger and of Ceylonese influence by the presence of a human figure, standing on the obverse and seated on the reverse.<sup>102</sup> These Ceylonese types date from about the eleventh century A.D. and came into use in the Tamil area, at the time when the Coḷa-Pāṇḍyas were masters of the whole of it.<sup>103</sup>

The value of indigenous literature, and that of a few professedly historical texts of a contemporary nature, has generally been underrated. We have sometimes to rely on casual references to historical events in literary texts of a general nature and also to wade through a large mass of legend in search of historical facts. The local legends centering round Tiruvāliśvaram exist in a version of *sthalapurāṇa* known as *Tiruvāliśvarasthalapurāṇa*, the earliest incidents referred to in it being datable to about the ninth century. The legends centering round Madurai are extant in three versions, of which the earliest dates from the ninth or the tenth century A.D., the *Tiruvilaiyāḍal Purāṇam*, compiled by Perumbāṟṟupuliyūr Nambi, the other versions being very much later work of Paranjōtimunivar and the *Hālāsyamāhātmya*. The set list of kings furnished by the two later versions are of little value or use for historical purposes. The earliest version contains very help-

100. Sir Walter Eliot, *Coins of Southern India*, 1886, p.121.

101. *A.I.*, No.2, 1946, pp.116-125 and map.

102. Sir Walter Eliot, *Coins of Southern India*, 1886, p.108.

103. *Ibid*, p.109; also A.K.Narain, 'Numismatics and Historical Writings' in *Historians of India, Paksitan and Ceylon*, edited by C.H.Philips, 1961, pp.94-101; for ideas of history in coins.



ful hints of great significance. The life of Mānikkavāṣagar is dealt with to explain the occasions on which he sang particular hymns of the *Tiruvācagam*. These local *purāṇas* are well supplemented by references in religious texts like the *Periyapurāṇam*, with the often direct and illuminating information on historical persons and events furnished by Appar, Sundarar and Jñānasambandhar, the poets and saints of the *Tēḍaram* and *Tiruvāymoli* which are of inestimable value.

The Śaṅgam texts such as the *Paripāṭal*, *Kuruntokai*, *Paḍiṟṟupattu*, *Akanānūru*, *Puraṇānūru*, *Śilappadikāram*, *Maduraikkāñci* and *Iṟaiyanār Akapporul urai*, which form a class by themselves, furnish valuable information. These await scientific and systematic treatment for historical purpose. Only during the last half century, have these been edited from the available rare manuscripts, by the laborious and careful work of scholars U.V. Sāminātha Aiyar, V.Kanakasabhai Pillai, N.M.Veṅkaṭasāmi Nāṭṭār, P. Sōmasundaram and institutions as Śaiva Siddhānta Kaṣhagam, Tirunelvēli. Much of this is still untranslated and the full and thorough study of the Śaṅgam texts from the critical and historical point of view has yet to be made. The cautious dating of these works by P.Meile<sup>104</sup> has been followed here.

The *Yāpparuṅgaḷam*,<sup>105</sup> Tamil metrical work of the eleventh century A.D., by Amṛtasāgara and the *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi*,<sup>106</sup> by Jayaṅgaṇḍar which may also be assigned to the same period, from an analysis of its contents especially the Kaliṅga expedition may be placed between A.D.1089 and A.D.1110<sup>107</sup>. Jayaṅgaṇḍar may have composed the poem soon after this date. The opening verses invoke the gods for the longevity of Kulōttuṅga and this clearly indicates that the poem was composed during the life time of the king. It is interesting to find that Bilhana composed the *Vikramāṅkadēvacarita* in honor of Vikramāditya VI, about the same period. The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* furnishes useful

104. P.Meile, in *L'Indie Classique*, II 1953, pp.297-314; also A.L.Basham, *The Wonder that was India*, 1956, pp.461-476; K.K.Pillay, 'Historical ideas in Early Tamil Literature' in *Historians of India, Pakistan and Ceylon*, edited by C.H.Philips, 1961, pp.66-71.

105. L.Renou, in *L'Inde Classique*, II, 1953, p.105; also text edited by S.Bhavanandam Pillai, 2 volumes, 1916-17.

106. V. Kanakasabha Pillai. 'Tamil Historical Texts, No.2., The Kaliṅgattupparaṇi' in *Ind. Ant.*, XIX, 1890, pp.329-345, 45, also text edited by A.Gōpāla Iyer, 1924.

107. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Colas*<sup>2</sup>, 1955, pp.320-323.

information on the history of Tamil literature, while alluding to the *Paṭṭinappālai*<sup>108</sup> composed in praise of Karikāla and the *Kalavaḷi*<sup>109</sup> composed by Poykai, giving a vivid description of the battlefield where Kōccenkaṇṇan was victorious over Kanaikkā Irumporai, the Cēra king.

The references furnished by foreign literary sources, Greek and Roman writers such as Magasthenes, Pliny, Ptolemy and the author of the *Periplus* and the records of Hsuan Tsang have all been critically studied and utilised in relation to their intrinsic values. The *Mahāvamsa* contains several references to the affairs of the Cōla and Pāṇḍya kingdoms but these have been used very cautiously as the chronology of events narrated in the *Mahāvamsa* rests on insecure foundations. *Chu-fan-chi*, a thirteenth century Chinese work, and the records of the Venetian traveller, Marco Polo, are of some help for later Cōla and Pāṇḍya history.

This brief review of the sources indicates that there is a large mass of material requiring critical discussion and study. Although a beginning has been made on this during the last two centuries<sup>110</sup> much more work remains to be done. The following chapters are intended as a contribution to this task.

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108. Edited with a commentary by P.V.Sōmasundram, 1956.

109. V.Kanakasabhai Pillai, 'Tamil Historical Texts No.1. 'in *Ind. Ant.*, XVIII, 1889, pp.258-265.

110. The work of earlier scholars in this field is listed in the bibliography.

## Early History of the Area as revealed by Inscriptions

Tiruvāliśvaram temple passed through successive stages of development to culminate in the reigns of the Cōlas under Rājarāja I and Rājendra, their viceroys the Cōla-Pāṇḍyas, namely Jaṭavarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya ( A.D. 1021-1051 ), Māravarman Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1051 ), Uḍaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya, Jaṭavarman Vīra Cōla-Pāṇḍya and Parākrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya and the Pāṇḍyas Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha ( A.D. 1080-1100 ), Māravarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1180), Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara ( A. D. 1190-1216 ), Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1215-1236) and Jaṭavarman Vīra Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1253). The foundation of the temple itself may date back to the early Cōla period before the time of Rājarāja I ( A.D. 985-1016 ) although the *garbhagr̥ha* does not have inscriptions earlier than the period of Rājarāja I. It is to be noted that none of the *Tēvāram* hymns refer directly to this temple or its diety but they allude to it in relation to the Kuṟṟālam and Ambāsamudram temples in the area.

The Tiruvāliśvaram temple complex has in all fifty-three inscriptions belonging to the above mentioned dynasties. The earliest inscriptions on the walls of the *garbhagr̥ha* are those of Rājarāja I. One, in *vaṭṭeḷuttu*, is dated in the eleventh year ( A.D. 996) of Rājakesarivarman. It records a gift of land to the deity Tiruvāliśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār <sup>1</sup>. The village is called Rājarājacaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Mulli-nāḍu<sup>2</sup>. A similar inscription of the eleventh year is engraved

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1. The deity of the temple at Turaiyūr, Trichinopoly district, was also known as Tiruvāliśvaramuḍaiya nāyanār. *A.R.Ep.*, 1909, No. 701.

2. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, Nos. 119 and 116.

on the north wall of the *garbhagr̥ha*. This relates to a gift of land<sup>3</sup>. The use of *vaṭṭeḷuttu* in these records is noteworthy. Other records of Rājarāja dated in the tenth and eleventh years of his reign in the vicinity of Ambāsamudram<sup>4</sup> are important in so far they show that the Cōla occupation of the Pāṇḍya country took place either before or early in the reign of Rājarāja. The reason for the omission of the conquest in inscriptions dated before the fourteenth year of his reign is not apparent. In the Tirupparuḍaimarudūr inscription of Rājarāja the names of the signatories are engraved in *vaṭṭeḷuttu* though the usual script employed is Tamil. The inscriptions of Parāntaka ( A.D. 907-955 ) and Rājarāja I at Sucīndram, Śermādēvi and other sites in the Pāṇḍya country are in Tamil script. The Śermādēvi inscription of Rājēndra<sup>5</sup> dated in his third year is in *vaṭṭeḷuttu* while that at Mannārkōyil<sup>6</sup>, dated in his twenty-fourth year, is engraved in Tamil. The Tamil script may have been introduced for engraving inscriptions in the Pāṇḍya country during the period of Jñānasambandhar and Appar or during a later Cōla occupation. The use of Tamil script is not necessarily a result of occupation by the Cōlas. It may be due to cultural influence. The change however, seems to have been during the reign of Rājarāja I but *vaṭṭeḷuttu* continued to be used during the period of Rājēndra and was probably replaced by Tamil later.

Two *vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscriptions dated in the eighteenth year from Tiruvālīśvaram do not refer to any king's reign but record an agreement among the members of the *mahāsabhā* of the village of Rājarājacaturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Mulli-nāḍu<sup>7</sup>. The records are assigned to the period of Rājarāja on palaeographic grounds.

Next in chronological order is the important Tamil inscription engraved on a pillar set up near the *bali-pīṭha* of the Tiruvālīśvaram temple<sup>8</sup>. It is unique in so far as it outlines the military history of a regiment called the *Mūṇṇukai mahāsēnai*. It is undated, and mentions the various victories gained by the Cola army especially the *Mūṇṇukai mahāsēnai*. Further it records that the temple at Tiruvālīśvaram, its

3. *Ibid.*, No. 116. Text and transcription in Chapter V.

4. *Ibid.*, Nos. 123, 124, 119 and 120.

5. *Ep. Ind.*, V, 1898-99, p.47.

6. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No.112.

7. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, Nos. 117-118.

8. *Ibid.*, No.120. Text and transcription in Chapter V.



treasury and temple servants were placed under the protection of this regiment. On the basis of the text and palaeography of this record there seems to be no doubt that the inscription has to be assigned to the period of Rājarāja and Rājendra. It depicts the *mahāsēnai* as constant worshippers of Śiva and Viṣṇu and records their exploits in defeating the Kannara and pursuing him, killing the Gāṅgēya, capturing Kalmādam and destroying Viliṅjam by the sea, then crossing the sea on the eastern side and razing Mātōṭṭam (Maḥatitha in Ceylon) to the ground, before taking the hill country (Malaināḍu) and routing the fleet (*kalamaruttu*) at śālai and finally making the Vallān (Cālukya)

flee and capturing Vanavāsi. The record further mentions that the Tamil poet of Kālahasti praised the regiment for its heroism by composing songs eulogising its achievements. The regiment is also credited with the capture and destruction of Uccandi (Uccangidurg) on the hill of Kucci and with a victory over the Vaḍukar and dismantling the fortress at Vātāpi. Other feats are mentioned which, on account of a gap in the record, are not easy to follow. The regiment is described as residing in Pāṇḍya-nāḍu, and comprising the dauntless soldiers of the great army of three arms. The regiment also took under its eternal protection, the Tiruvāliṣvaram temple and all its belongings (*dēvadānaṅgaḷum śrī-bhaṇḍāramum*) including its priests and servants (*śivabrāhmaṇarum taccar kollar tiruvēlaiikkārarum*). It is clear that the campaigns in which the regiment claims to have participated with such glory were those of the reigns of Rājarāja and Rājendra<sup>9</sup>.

The Śermādēvi inscription dated A.D. 1096<sup>10</sup> proclaims the ideals of heroism of the *Mūṇṇukai mahāsēnai* and refers to the protection given to the temple by this division by taking over its properties. Here the group is called 'the several thousands of the great army of three arms'. The Kālahasti inscription of Rājendra I<sup>11</sup> mentions the various divisions of the king's army such as *śirutanattu - ediriliṣōḷatterinda valaṅgai vēlaiikkārar*, *śirutanattu ilaiyarāja ut-tamaṣōḷatterinda valaṅgai vēlaiikkārar* and *śirutanattu śōḷaśikhāmaṇi-tterinda valaṅgai vēlaiikkārar*. No literary work glorifying the achievements of the army has yet been found.

9. A detailed discussion of these campaigns is given by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri in *The Colas*<sup>2</sup>, 1955, pp.169-183, 197-223.

10. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, no. 753. Also *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp. 334-335.

11. *A.R.Ep.*, 1904, No. 286.

The Cōla-Pāṇḍya kings, figuring in the Tiruvāliśvaram inscriptions seem to have ruled for a period of scarcely half a century from A.D. 1021, when the first king Jaṭavarman Sundara Cōla - Pāṇḍya, the son of Rājendra I was installed. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates<sup>12</sup> refer to the appointment in the following strophe:

Tatra pratiṣṭhāpya tadyarāṣṭra-rakṣārtham-ātmiya-tanūjam-ēnam |

Śrī Cōla-Pāṇḍyaṃ ravi-vaṃsa-dīpō jētum pratiṇiḍṣam-ujjagāma ||

The conquest over Kerala is referred to in another strophe<sup>13</sup>.

Śrī Cōla-Pāṇḍyaṃ svasutam vidhāya pāścātya- bhūmēr-abhirak-  
ṣaṇāya |

Kāncim sa kāncim-iva bhūmidēvyāḥ samāviṣat taila-kulaika-kālah||

The existence of inscriptions of Cōla emperors of the period side by side with the inscriptions of the Cōla-Pāṇḍyas in the Pāṇḍya country clearly indicates that the central control was regular and vigorous. The Pāṇḍya kings, however, made common cause against the Cōlas by aligning themselves with the rulers of Ceylon. It is difficult to give a correct account of the intricate military and political transactions of these two powers, referred to in the *Cūlavamṣa* and in the inscriptions of the Cōlas. Dr. W.M.K. Wijetunga has recently examined these and other related problems<sup>14</sup>, in his thesis on 'The Rise and Decline of Cōla Power in Ceylon'. The chief reasons for adopting the form of government with Cōla-Pāṇḍya viceroys must lie in these political alliances between the dispossessed families of the Pāṇḍyas and the Ceylonese kings and also in the wide extent of the Cōla territory after the extensive conquests of Rājendra. Rājendra seems not to have discovered till the tenth year of his reign that certain special arrangements were necessary for holding the Pāṇḍya country. The Pāṇḍyas derived their strength from the long tradition of their rule and from the political alliances with the kings of Ceylon. It is remarkable that they were able to bring about the decline of the Cōla power in spite of the determination of the Cōlas to exterminate them. This Viceregal system, finding suitable occupations for the restless princes of royal blood, allayed their discontent and directed their energies from intrigues and revolutions. It simultaneously brought new strength to

12. S.I.I., III, 1929, p. 399 strophe 93.

13. S.I.I., III, 1929, p.399, strophe 99.

14. University of London, Unpublished Thesis, Ph.D.1962.

the administration of an overgrown empire faced with many domestic and foreign problems. The addition of the suffix Pāṇḍya to the Cōla prince's name was possibly made to reconcile the people to the new ruler. The title Cōla-Pāṇḍya may also indicate the double status of the princes in so far as they were members of the Cōla family and were made to rule over the Pāṇḍya country. They were viceroys acting under the orders of the Cōla sovereign appointed mainly because the Pāṇḍyas could never completely be subdued<sup>15</sup>.

Jatāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions range in date between the fourth and thirtieth years of his reign<sup>16</sup>. The Mannārkōyil inscription of Rājendra I<sup>17</sup> dated in his twenty-fourth year issued by the king from his palace at Kāncīpuram, recording a gift of land to the temple of Gōpālasvāmin, helps in fixing the date of accession of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya in A.D. 1020-21. The gift was to be effective from the fifteenth year of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya, who is referred to as one of Rājendra's sons. His fifteenth year was to coincide with the twenty-fourth year of Rājendra. There is also the confirmatory evidence of another inscription from Mannārkōyil which refers to Rājendra dēva and his son (*nam piḷḷai*) Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya<sup>18</sup>.

K.V. Subrahmanya Ayyar<sup>19</sup> attributes to Jatāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya the inscriptions of Uḍaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya from Sucindram and Ševelippēri.<sup>20</sup> This is doubtful as the name Sundara is omitted in both cases and the palaeography of the inscriptions point to a later date. This conclusion has been arrived at after an examination and analysis of the texts and fascimilies of all the known inscriptions of these two rulers. Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya's last known date is his thirtieth year

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15. Reference may be made to the defeat of the Pāṇḍyas by Parāntaka no less than three times. Sundara Cōla claims to have driven the Pāṇḍya into the forest. Aditya II vigorously fought Vīra Pāṇḍya. Uttama Cōla's title Madurāntaka clearly indicates hostility with Pāṇḍyas. Rājarāja is known to have defeated Amarabhujāṅga. Rājendra, Rājādhirāja and Vīrarājendra again claim victories over the Pāṇḍyas.

16. A chronological but incomplete list of his inscriptions is given along with their Tamil texts in *S.I.I.* XIV, 1962, Nos. 131-170.

17. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No. 112.

18. *S.I.T.I.*, II 1954, p. 784, No. 830.

19. *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911-12, p.293.

20. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No. 195.

as gleaned from his Attur inscription<sup>21</sup>. It is possible that Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya may have been entrusted with the Pāṇḍya and Kērala territories by A.D. 1016-17, four years prior to his regular accession, though probably not formally installed. In Rājendra's inscriptions there is no reference to his conquest of the Pāṇḍya country till his fourteenth year but his victories over Kērala are referred to in inscriptions of his fifth and sixth years<sup>22</sup>. The mention of Cēra feudatories Rājasimha and Rājarāja further confirm this. There is no means of ascertaining the identity of the two defeated kings.

The earliest inscription of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya so far known is dated in his fourth regnal year and refers to a gift of land to Rājendra Cōla *viṇṇagaram* (Viṣṇu- gṛham ) at Mannārkōyil by the *sabhā* of Rājarāja-caturvēdimāṅgalam, a *brahmadāya* in Rājarāja-pāṇḍi- nāḍu for the settlement of temple servants. It also refers to Muṭikonḍaśōlapuram as the other name of Rājarāja-caturvēdimāṅgalam and also to the tenancies of *yiruppu* ( general term for settlement or residence ) and *kuṣavan parivāram* (potters colony)<sup>23</sup>. Next in chronologic order are four inscriptions of the king, two in Tamil script from Ambāsamudram<sup>24</sup> and Āttūr<sup>25</sup> and two in *vaṭṭeluttu* script from Cēramaṅgalam and Pārthivaśēkharapuram, all dated in his sixth regnal year. The Ambāsamudram record is incomplete mentioning only Rājarāja-caturvēdimāṅgalam in Muḷli-nāḍu, a sub-division of Muṭikonḍaśōla vaḷanāḍu in Rāja rāja-ppāṇḍi-nāḍu. The Āttūr inscription records a gift of two buffaloes by a *vellāla* of the village for a *nontā viḷakku*<sup>26</sup> to the Sōmanāthēśvara temple. While most of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions are in Tamil script there are several in *vaṭṭeluttu* found in the Cēra country and on the borders between the traditional Pāṇḍya-maṇḍalam and Cēra-maṇḍalam. The Cēramaṅgalam epigraph refers to an agreement given to the *sabhā* of Cēramaṅgalam by Manrāḍi Iraiyan Accan to stand as surety ( *puṇai paḍuvēñ* ) for

21. *Ibid.*, No. 167.

22. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, Nos. 111, 113 and 114.

23. *Ibid.*, No. 107. Text in *S.I.T.I.*, II. 1954, p. 787, No. 837.

24. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No. 134.

25. *Ibid.*, No. 135.

26. The form *tiru nontā-viḷakku* (a sacred lamp which is never trimmed) seems to have developed from *tiri-nundā-viḷakku* (a lamp, the wick of which is never trimmed because ghee is continually supplied to it) *Nondā-viḷakku* or *nandā viḷakku* are corruptions of *nundā-viḷakku*.



the *iṛai* (tax) due from Āyiradēva in case he left the village (*maṇṇu māri pōkil*)<sup>27</sup>. The Pārthivaśēkharapuram inscription, dated in his sixth year, provided for a perpetual lamp and for the sumptuous food to a brāhmaṇa in the temple every day<sup>28</sup>. The service was to be conducted in the name of Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōla (*Śrī Kaṅgaikoṇḍa śōlan tirunāmattāl*), who was his father Rājendra I.

Another *vaṭṭeluttu* inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya from Vīraśikhāmaṇi<sup>29</sup> is dated in his eighth year and records the gift of a lamp. His Sucīndram record in Tamil script, dated in his ninth year refers to the local commander in chief (*ivvūr padaittalaivan*) Tiruveṅkaṭa Eṭṭi who agreed to maintain perpetual lamps in the temple with 3/8 measure of ghee daily from the thirty-eight cows donated by Kalanivenni otherwise known as Madurāntaka-ppēraraian, of Koṭṭār or Mummudi-śōlanallūr. The lamps were to be maintained in the temple of Tiruveṅkaṭatt-ālvār in Sucīndram also known as Sundara Cōla-caturvēdimāṅgalam in Nāñjil-nāḍu. This is incidentally the earliest mention of Sucīndram as a *caturvēdi maṅgalam*<sup>30</sup>. *Caturvēdimāṅgalam* is a group of villages with several brāhmaṇa settlements representing each of the four Vēdas. The constitution and formation of *Caturvēdimāṅgalam* is discussed in detail in the chapter on Administration.

The permanent residence of the military commander Tiruveṅkaṭa Eṭṭi, stationed for the enforcement of peace and order in the locality, is interesting. The name of the royal person and the palaeography of the Sucīndram record confirm that the inscription was issued by Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya. It may be noted that Madurāntaka-ppēraraian, the name of the donor, was one of the well known epithets of Rājendra I. The name ending *eṭṭi* seems to be derived from Sanskrit *śreṣṭhin* / *śeṭṭi* / *eṭṭi*<sup>31</sup>.

Three of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions from Śermādēvi, Vijayanārāyaṇam and Kanyākumārī were issued in the tenth year. The Sermadevi record<sup>32</sup> is incomplete but mentions the deity Cōlēndra-

27. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, V, 1926, pp.29-30.

28. *Ibid.*, VI, 1927-28, Appendix A.

29. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No. 136.

30. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, pp. 134-35 and plate.

31. T. Burrow, 'Dravidian Studies' in *B.S.O.A.S.*, XII, 1947, p. 132.

32. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, no.137.

simhēśvara mudaiyār. The village Vijayanarayanam is referred to as Jayaṅgaṇḍaśōla - *caturvēdimāṅgalam* in Uttamaśōla vaṇaṇāḍu<sup>33</sup>. The name Jayaṅgaṇḍaśōla - *caturvēdimāṅgalam* may have been given after Rājendra as inscriptions of Rājarāja<sup>34</sup> from the same place do not give it this name. The division Uttamaśōla vaṇaṇāḍu in Rājarāja paṇḍi-nāḍu is also not referred to in Rājarāja's inscriptions which clearly indicates that the geographical division for administrative purpose was effected after the establishment of the Cōlas in this part of the empire through the Cōla-Pāṇḍyas. The Kanyākumārī inscription<sup>35</sup> mentions Periyāl Saṅgam of Araiyaḷuvūr in Uttuṅgaśōla vaṇaṇāḍu as a palace servant (akaparivārattupenṭātti) of Mukkōkilāṇaḍigal, the queen of Rājendra. A gift of fifty sheep for a lamp in the temple of Kanyābhaṭārī at Kumari, in Puṇattāyaṇāḍu, a sub division of Uttamaśōla vaṇaṇāḍu, is recorded in the inscription.

The only copper-plate charter of the Cōla-Pāṇḍyas so far known is that of Jaṭāvaman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya dated in his tenth year. The plates consisting of three groups, each of a different size were discovered at Pāṇḍavarmaṅgalam, Kōvilpaṭṭi taluk, Tirunelveli district and are now preserved at the Government Museum, Madras. The record refers to Pāṇḍamaṅgalam otherwise known as Pancavanmādēvi-*caturvēdimāṅgalam* in Venbaikkudī nāḍu and also to a list of brāhmaṇa donees<sup>36</sup>. Other details of the grant cannot be determined as the plates are corroded and the layer of metal has peeled off at many places. The letters are made up of closely engraved dots.

The earliest of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions from Tiruvālī-śvaram is dated in his eleventh year. It is incomplete but records the gift of a lamp by Brahmakuṭṭan. This lamp was to be maintained with one *uḷakku* of ghee daily from the twenty-five cows taken over by Kāri Śēndan<sup>37</sup>. There are six other inscriptions of the king all dated in eleventh regnal year, five of them from Cōlapuram and the sixth in vaṭṭeḷuttu script recording a gift of a lamp from Ādanūr<sup>38</sup>. In one of the Cōlapuram inscriptions Calukki Vijayādityan Vikki Anṇan,

33. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, No.5. Another fragmentary inscription below this mentions the year 14. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.139.

34. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, Nos. 2, 6-8

35. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, pp. 150-151, No.III.

36. *A.R. Ind. Ep.*, 1958-59, A-No. 13.

37. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No. 141.

38. *Ibid.*, no. 142.

otherwise known as Viṣṇuvardhana mahārāja, figures as a donor of twenty-five cows for a perpetual lamp to the deity at Tirukoṭṭār also known as Mummuḍiśōḷanallūr in Nāñjil-nāḍu<sup>39</sup>.

The donor appears to have been a Cālukya king. The ruler of Vēṅgī during the period of the inscription was Rājarājanarēndra except from A.D. 1031-35 when Vijāyaditya reigned<sup>40</sup>. It is, however, noteworthy that an eastern Cālukya ruler should have come so far south and made a donation to the Śiva temple. The earliest Cōla king to interfere in the politics of the Eastern Cālukya country was Rājarāja. His capture of Vēṅgī in his fourteenth year ( A.D. 1000 )<sup>41</sup>, resulted in placing Śaktivarman or Cālukyacandra in power within a year<sup>42</sup>. This is evident from the Raṇastampūṇḍi grant of Vimalāditya, the son and successor of Śaktivarman, which places the coronation of Vimalāditya on Thursday, May 10, A.D. 1011, and mentions that Śaktivarman ruled for twelve years before him<sup>43</sup>. Vimalāditya's son Rājarāja had his consecration on Thursday August 16, A.D. 1022 according to the Korumelli plates<sup>44</sup>; and he is said to have ruled for forty-one years in the Teki plates<sup>45</sup>. There seems to have been some confusion and domestic trouble in the Eastern Cālukya kingdom about A.D. 1029-30, twelve years after the accession of Rājarāja. His stepfather Vijayāditya had ousted him and crowned himself in A.D. 1030 according to a grant dated in the second regnal year of Vijayāditya<sup>46</sup>. There have been attempts to emphasize that after a first futile usurpation ( A.D. 1030-32 ) Vijayāditya left Vēṅgī and sought service under, and support from, the Western Cālukya ruler Somēśvara<sup>47</sup>. The Cōlapuram inscription

39. *Trav. Arch.Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, p. 8 and plate.

40. According to Nilakanta Sastri in G. Yazdani, *The Early History of Deccan*, II, 1960, Vimalāditya - A.D. 1011-18; Viṣṇavaditya - 1018-22; Rājarāja - 1022-31; Vijayāditya - 1031-35; Rājarāja - 1035-61. .

41. *S.I.I.*, VII, 1933, No. 739.

42. *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 1931-32, p.31.

43. *Ibid.*, VI, 1900-01, pp. 349-351.

44. *Ind.Ant.*, XIV, 1885, p.50.

45. *Ep. Ind.*, VI, 1900-01, p.336.

46. 'The Pamulavāka Plates of Vijayaditya' in *J.A.H.R.S.*, II, 1927-28, pp.277-289. Also K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *The Cola*<sup>2</sup>, 1955, pp.286-88, 298.

47. *J.A.H.R.S.* I 1926-27, p.215, strophes 206-208. N. Venkataramanayya, *The Eastern Cālukyas of Vēṅgī*, 1951, pp.250-255.

of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya dated in his eleventh year (A.D. 1032-33) mentioning Calukki Vijayādityan Vikki Anṇan as a donor shows that he was in the extreme southern limit of Cōla- maṇḍalam making a gift to the temple at Kottār in Travancore. This trip was perhaps undertaken to enlist Cōla support aimed at gaining and maintaining cordial relationship with the Cōlas and their viceroys the Cōla-Pāṇḍyas. The gift could not have been made *in absentia* and it is more likely that Vijayāditya was present at Kottār, the political situation at Vēṅgī being disturbed.

Another citizen Śottaiyan, brother of Perumāṇaḍi, Cāmiṇḍan of Kuḍagu nāḍu in Gaṅgai-maṇḍalam an agent of Yamunāditya, provided for food offerings in the temple at Brahmapuram, ten miles from Cōlapuram. The mention of Paṭṭanaḍēṣappulavan, a poet, is interesting, but his identity cannot be established owing to lack of more evidence. Kottār otherwise known as Mummudiśōlanallūr, was so called after one of the numerous surnames of Rājarāja I. The village was in the division of Nāñjil nāḍu. Nāñjil means a plough<sup>48</sup> and this designation of the tract of the country is very appropriate, since South Travancore ( the present Kerala ) is predominantly a land of extensive paddy fields. The division Nāñjil nāḍu formed part of a bigger unit Uttamaśōla vaḷanāḍu which extended from Cape Comorin on one side to Śermāḍēvi on the other and consisted of many subdivisions called Marugal nāḍu, Puṟattāya nāḍu, Kuru nāḍu and Nāñjil nāḍu. This vaḷanāḍu again formed part of Rājarāja-ppāṇḍi-nāḍu, the name given to the districts of Ramnad, Madurai, Tirunelveli, Pudukōṭṭai and South Travancore, after the southern conquests of Rājarāja.

A noble under Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya named Dēvan Viccātiran (Vidyādhara) Śōlamārāyan made a gift of fifty sheep for the provisions of lamps in the temple at Cōlapuram in the eleventh year <sup>49</sup> of the king. Another officer Ādityan Raṇaṣiṅgan Vīra-pāṇḍya-ppallavaraiyan of Koḍuṅkuḷam in Rājarāja-tteṇṇāḍu, figures in another record of the king dated in the same year<sup>50</sup>. Candrasēkhara bhaṭṭa of Tāmattūr, a hamlet of Aḍavalla-caturvēḍimaṅgalam in Kīl-Śembiya nāḍu also makes a gift of a lamp to the deity at Cōlapuram in the eleventh

48. *Qu. Journ. Myth. Soc.*, XI, 1946, p.76.

49. *Trav. Arch. Ser.* VI, 1927-28, p. 9, No.5.

50. *Ibid.*, p. 10, No.6.



year of the king<sup>51</sup>. The term *Āḍavallān* is a Tamil equivalent of Sanskrit Nataraja. It is interesting to find a bas-relief of Natarāja on the southern side of the first *tala* of the *vimāna* of the Tiruvālīśvaram Temple. There is also a bronze image of Natarāja in the temple.

An inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya<sup>52</sup> from Cōlapuram dated in his eleventh year gives important information about the sale of land communally owned (*podu-nilam*) by the sabha of Śrīvalluva caturvēdimāṅgalam in Nāṭṭarṟu-pōkku<sup>53</sup>, a division of Uttamaśōla valanāḍu to the *dēvarkanmi* of the temple at Kottār. The details of the land sold were: Leaving aside 1/16 *mā* of land lying to the north of Kuvānai ēri, Kamban Pāṇḍan *kumili* and the irrigation channel called Tirunārāyaṇa-vāykkāl, 1/8 *mā* of land lies under the first sluice and 1/8 *mā* of land under the second sluice to the north of Tirunārāyaṇa vāykkāl making a total of  $\frac{1}{4}$  *mā* of land. The northern boundary of the land sold was to the south of the channel flowing towards the east and the eastern boundary lay to the west of the Ūrppādikkal ( the stone demarcating the limits of the village). The record further refers to the condition for the payment of certain taxes like *iṭai*, *karāṇmai* and also refers to the grain measure, *Gaṅgaikoṇḍān*.

The Ambalanāthēśwara temple inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya is dated in his twelfth year. It refers to five prominent śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple namely Mādēvan Bhavāgraṇi, Vāsudēva Śrikanṭha bhaṭṭa, Nakkavidāna bhaṭṭa, Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan Orriyūrkāman and Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa Aḍigal, who received thirty-six *kāṣu* from Śrikanṭha Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa in return for maintaining a perpetual lamp with one *uḷakku* of ghee daily in the temple out of the interest accruing from the amount ( *poliyūṭṭāka* ). It further mentions a fine of three *kāṣu* and one *uḷakku* of ghee daily for the lamp in case of default<sup>54</sup>. The *akanālikai* śivabrāhmaṇas were those whose duties were inside the *garbhagrha* of the temple.

The Ambāsamudram inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya dated in his thirteenth year (A.D. 1033) refers to the temple of Tiruccālaitturāi ālvār and the local administrative and trading organisation *nānādēṣitti*-

51. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, p. 11, No.7.

52. *Ibid.*, No. 8.

53. Also referred to in the Vijayanārāyaṇam Inscription of the king. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.139.

54. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No. 757. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.621.

*śai āyirattaiñ nūṟṟuvar* of Rājēndracōḷa - maṇḍalam<sup>55</sup>. The *nānādēśitti-śai āyirattaiñ nūṟṟuvar* was an age-long institution associated with the practical administration of the country which acted as a check on royal absolutism<sup>56</sup>. Nilākanta Sastri interprets the passage '*nānādēśittisai āyirattaiñ nūṟuvarku ciraṇāka Tiruccālaitturai ālvār kōyililē*' in the text of the inscription as meaning : 'In the temple of the ālvār of Tiruccālaitturai, for the spiritual good of the five hundred of thousand directions of several *dēśas*' and takes this to be a body of five hundred instead of one thousand five hundred<sup>57</sup>. This is unwarranted as the body of One thousand five hundred is an organisation to be distinguished from the body of five hundred mentioned in the inscription of Lobu Tuwa in Sumatra dated Śaka 1010, i.e. in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I<sup>58</sup>. The inscription of Rājādhirāja cited by Sastri definitely refers only to the body of One thousand Five hundred (*nāāku tisai āyirattainnūṟṟuwa perunāḍu*)<sup>59</sup>. A detailed discussion of this is given in the chapter on Administration.

A gift of fifty sheep for a perpetual lamp to the deity at Kanyākumārī was made by a resident of Karuṅḡḷa nāḍu in the thirteenth regnal year of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya<sup>60</sup>. The Śiva Temple at Perundurai was constructed during the reign of the king and the deity named Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Iṣvaram-uḍaiyār. A gift of 2 *mā* 1 *kāṇi* and 1 *Muntirikai* of land was endowed by Kōn Māyan, a resident of Perundurai in Kāṇa nāḍu, a subdivision of Rājēndra Cōḷa vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja ppāṇḍi-nāḍu<sup>61</sup>. The Cōḷa practice of renaming places after royal personages and details about sale of dry land to the temple of Rājēndra Cōḷa viṣṇagaram by the *sabhā* of Rājarāja - caturvēdimāṅgalam are revealed by the Mannārkōyil inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya<sup>62</sup>.

55. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No. 146. The date is wrongly given as year 15 in introduction but in the text it is printed as year 13.

56. T.V. Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, 1956, p. 21.

57. *Tijdschr. Bat.Gen.*, LXXII, 1932, pp. 314-327.

58. *Ibid.*, LXXIV, 1934, pp.614-618: *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, p.339; Paul Wheatley, *The Golden Kiersone*, 1961, p.203.

59. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No.342.

60. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, p.151, No.112.

61. *Inser. Pud. State*, 1929, p.134, No.242.

62. *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911.

Šēralan Mādēviyār Adicci, the queen of the Cēra king Rāṅṅadēvar (Rājasimha), figures in the inscription dated in the fourteenth year of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya as a donor of Sixteen cows for a lamp in the temple built by Rājasimha<sup>63</sup>. Another record of the king is interesting in so far as it cites the fourteenth year and three hundred and twentieth day<sup>64</sup>. The next year, a gift of land was made by the king for the *tirumeykāppu* (ritual) in the temple of Nigarili-cōla viṇṇagar-ālvār at Šermādēvi<sup>65</sup>. The Tiruvāliśvaram inscription<sup>66</sup> dated in his seventeenth regnal year is a very important historical document giving abundant and adequate details of land revenue administration and information about his officials. The record refers to a gift of five *vēli* of land by purchase to the temple from the *Sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam for conducting festivals, for providing food to twenty-five brāhmaṇas and for the recitation of the *Śivadharmā*. The income from the land included paddy given by the cultivator as owner's share and money by way of *uruvukōl kaṣu* and *kāḱṣi-erudu-kāṣu*. The five *vēli* of land were converted into *veḷḷān-vagai* (ryotwari) and were required to pay as land tax (*iṟai-kaḍan*) 642 *kalam* 6 *kurunī*  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *nāli* and  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *śevidu* of paddy as measured by the *nārāyam* (a measure of 5 *nāli*) in addition to money,  $35\frac{1}{4}$  and  $3/80$  *kāṣu*, as *uruvukōl nilan-kāṣu* and 5 *kāṣu*, as *kāḱṣi-erudu-kāṣu*. Another inscription dated in the king's seventeenth year from Šermādēvi<sup>67</sup> is supplementary to this inscription. It refers to similar items of income under the heads of *aḷagerudu-kāḱṣi-kāṣu*, *kāḱṣi-erudu-kāṣu* and *ūr-kalaṇju*. The order transferring the land from the *brahmadēya* register to the *dēvadāna* register as recorded in the Tiruvāliśvaram inscription was communicated after the document was signed by the principal revenue officers of the king.

During the reign of Rājēndra I, the *veḷḷān-vagai* villages fell into two broad classes, one directly remitting the variable annual revenue to the state, the other paying dues of a more or less fixed character to the religious institutions like temples to which they were assigned. It is difficult to determine which of these benefited the cultivator. The

63. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.150. The Cēra king Rājarājadēva is referred to in an inscription of the king dated in the sixteenth year. S.I.I.

XIV, 1962, No.154.4.

64. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.152.

65. *Ibid.*, No.153.

66. *Ibid.*, No.160.

67. A.R.Ep., 1916, No.619.

Tiruvālīśvaram inscription<sup>68</sup> dated in the seventeenth year and day was issued from Siddharkūdam situated in the king's pleasure garden called *Puttan* laid out in the northern side of Madurai. The boundaries of the five *vēli* of land were; western, the limit of the lower bank of the *vāykkāl* to the east, northern, to the north of Vāsudēva *vāykkāl* and to the south of the first sluice (*kaṇṇāru*) and to the west of the river Kaṭinjai, and southern, to the north of Vāsudēva *Vāykkāl*.

A gift of sixty sheep for burning perpetual lamps in the temples of Tiruppōttudaiyār and Tiruccālaiturai situated in the southern half of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam was made during the eighteenth year of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya<sup>69</sup>. There are two other fragmentary records dated in the same year in the Kanyābhagavatī temple at Kanyākumkāri.<sup>70</sup> Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya seems to have had the surname Mānavīra Parāntaka, as is known from his inscriptions at Śermādēvi<sup>71</sup> dated in his nineteenth year which records an order of the revenue officers (*puṇavu-vari tiṇaikalattār* and *varippotagam-udaiyar*) to the effect that, as ten persons who had the *kāni* of two *vēli* of land at Kallūr under the name of Śivapādaśēkharanallūr had relinquished them in favour of the *dēvakanmis*, these temple servants could henceforth cultivate the land. The Cēramāṅgalam record dated in the king's nineteenth year refers to a gift of a zinc lamp-stand by Tiruvēṇṇai-ccēvakan Māyilaṭṭi, the younger brother of Kaḷanivenni<sup>72</sup>.

A woman ascetic (*peṇ-tavasi*), Nārpattēṇṇāyira Maralidēvi, who was probably a princess, figures in another epigraph of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya issued in the nineteenth year, as a donor of twelve cows for a perpetual lamp to the deity at koṭṭār<sup>73</sup>. Sūryan Rājasimha and Sūryan Rājamalla undertook to maintain the lamp. The reference to the woman ascetic is interesting in so far as it indicates that in the eleventh century A.D. women were not debarred from the ascetic life or from propagating a particular form of faith. The Kuḍumiyāmalai

68. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.161.

69. *ibid.*, No. 162

70. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, p.151 n.

71. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.164.

72. *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, V, 1926, pp.29-30.

73. *Ibid.*, VI, 1927-28, p.73 and plate. The literal meaning of the term *Marali* or *Mārṇali* is 'One whose fineness is never destroyed'.



inscription of Vira Pandya<sup>74</sup> mentions a *nārpattēṇṇāviravan matha* attached to the temple there. This *matha* probably had 48,000 devotees. Yet another inscription from Tiruvēṭpur<sup>75</sup> refers to the deity *nārpattēṇṇāyira viṇṇagara emperumān* of Tiruveṅgavāyil. Maralidēvi seems to have been a special member of this religious group.

A *vaṭṭeluttu* inscription of the twentieth year of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya's reign from Tiruvitāṅkōḍ mentions a *vellāḷa* of Tirukaṇṇan-kōḍu making a gift of twenty *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold of nine *māttu* of fineness (*onpatu māttu ppon*) as tested by the *niṇai-kallu* for the expenses of a sacred lamp to be put up in the temple<sup>76</sup>. It also refers to the chief officer of the temple (*muduvāl*). The rate of interest as worked out from this record for twenty *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold was one *uḷakku* of ghee per day. The expression *onpatu māttu ppon* is of interest in recalling the committee of nine members, chosen for testing the fineness of gold current in the village of Uttaramēru - caturvēdimāṅgalam in A.D. 922 during the time of Parāntaka<sup>77</sup>, as revealed by his Uttaramallūr inscription. The following procedure is laid down in the inscription for the choice of the committee. The residents of the *māḍa-vīti* (the street with big mansions) should write on palm-leaf the names of such persons as were capable of testing gold from among the rate payers of their quarter and were neither too old nor too young. The names so entered should be put in pots and from them four persons were to be chosen from this quarter. Two from the army and three others from the *śaṅkarappāṇḍiyar* were also to be chosen. The nine persons so selected were impartially to test the gold by using the touch stone. They were to hand over daily the wax which was used without misappropriating any cut gold to the great men of the tank committee (*ērivāriya perumakkaḷ*) and once in three years were to appear before the great men of the Annual committee and make a declaration to the effect that if they had acted to the contrary, they should incur the curse of living with hunger. The inscription also seems to suggest that these nine persons were to receive individually 7 1/2 *maṇḷāḍi* of gold each month, probably as remuneration for their work.

A Sanskrit verse speaking of the methods of testing the intrinsic value of a man and gold may be found interesting in this connection:

74. *Inscr.Pud.State.*, 1929, No.366.

75. *Ibid.*, No.371.

76. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, p.140.

77. *Ep.Ind.*, XXII, 1933-34, p.149.

Yathā caturbhiḥ kanakam parīkṣyatē  
 Nigharṣaṇa-cchēdana tāpa-tāḍanaiḥ |  
 tathā caturbhiḥ puruṣaḥ parīkṣyatē  
 Śrutēna śīlēna kulēna karmanā||<sup>78</sup>

The first half of the verse gives the different methods of testing gold by pounding or rubbing, melting and beating suggesting that gold had to be purified before minting.

*Maṛṇu* is the term used in inscriptions for indicating the fineness of gold. The degree of fineness is referred to in the inscriptions of the period as  $7\frac{1}{8}$ ,  $8\frac{1}{2}$ , 9 and  $9\frac{3}{4}$  *māṛṇu*<sup>79</sup>. A surpassing degree of fineness is meant when the term *māṛṇili-ṣempon* or *kaṣunirai-pon* is employed<sup>80</sup>. Jñanasambandhar's reference to God as gold whose fineness cannot be judged ( *māṛṇariyāda* ) in the *Tēvāram* is noteworthy. The gold pieces were weighed by the standard weight stones of the locality, the *niṛai-kal* in the case of Tiruvāliśvaram. They are sometimes designated as *Āḍavallān* and *Vidēlviḍugu*,<sup>81</sup> which was the surname of Nandivarman III and Nṛpatuṅga Pallava. The standard weight was probably named after one of them. *Kaḷaṇḍu* was the unit of weight of gold. It is equated with *kṛṣṇa-kāca* in an inscription of Māraṇḍaiyan from Tirupattūr.<sup>82</sup> The etymological origin, however, is uncertain. *Kaḷaṇḍu* may be derived from *kaṛaṇḍu* ( molucca bean ). The weight of a *kaḷaṇḍu* seems to have been the same as that of molucca bean<sup>83</sup>. *Kaḷaṇḍu* was divided into twenty *maṇḍādi* and each *maṇḍādi* into two *kuṇṇi*. *Dināra* and *tiramam* are frequently referred to in Tamil inscriptions. An early Pāṇḍya inscription of Māraṇḍaiyan from Tiruputtūr<sup>84</sup> records a gift of ten *dināra* or *kāṣu* by a brāhmaṇi named Paṭṭā for a perpetual lamp in the temple of Tiruttaliśvara. The name of the Greek *drachma* is referred to as *tiramam* in Tamil records<sup>85</sup>. An old *kāṣu* which was higher in value fetched  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *tiramam* as interest and

78. *Subhāṣitaratnabhāṇḍāgāra*, 8th edition by Nārāyaṇ Rām Āchārya, 1952, p.175.

79. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, Nos.298, 885 and 1413; VII, 1933, Nos.147&486.

80. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.646.

81. *Ibid.*, VII, 1933, Nos.924-926. *A.R.S Ind.Ep.*, No.141.

82. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.5.

83. C.Codrington, *Ceylon Coins and Currency*, 1924, p.3

84. *A.R.Ep.*, 1908, No.136.

85. *A.R.Ep.*, 1910, part II, para.33.

the latter, probably debased *kāṣu* only fetched a quarter or one-eighths of a *tiramam*<sup>86</sup> If the value of the *tiramam* had remained the same these examples could be relied upon to emphasise that *tiramam* was a smaller unit of reckoning. There is, however, no means of judging the connection between the original *drachma* and the later *tiramam*. The *Śōliyar nar-palaṅkāṣu* (the old good coin of the Cōlas) was in use during the time of Jaṭāvarman Sundra Pāṇḍya<sup>87</sup>.

A Tamil inscription of Sundra Cōla-Pāṇḍya on the west wall of the central shrine of the Tiruvāliśvaram temple, dated in his twenty-first year, mentions Bhaktargaḷ Paṇḍāram, one of the palace women ( *peṇḍāṭṭi* ) of the house called Ulakuṭaiya pirāṭṭiyār vēlam which may well have been the household of his queen. It also refers to the commander in chief ( *paḍaittalaivan* ) Nāṣakan kūlvāṇai. A gift of ten cows was made by the queen for a perpetual lamp with one *uḷakku* of ghee to the deity at Tiruvāliśvaram<sup>88</sup>. Another *vaṭṭeluttu* record dated in his twenty-first year from Gaṅgaikoṇḍān in Tirunelvēli district records a gift of land<sup>89</sup>. A provision for a perpetual lamp was made by Bhāradvājan Lōkāditya Kūttan of Āṟṟūr in the twenty-first regnal year of the king<sup>90</sup>. The lamp was to be maintained in the Sōmasundari Amman shrine in the temple of Sōmanāthēśvara. The only noteworthy fact is that after the time of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya a number of villages including Āṟṟūr seem to have been regrouped under the name of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam. Only one inscription of the king is known to have been issued and this, in the twenty-second year from Aḷagarkōyil<sup>91</sup> registering a gift of a lamp-stand by Śōlaisēndapirāṭṭi, wife of Kāśyapan Nārāyaṇan of Cōla-Pāṇḍya caturvēdimāṅgalam in Karunilakkuḍi nāḍu.

Ādanūr in the Tirunelvēli district is stated to be situated in Śuraṅguḍi nāḍu, a subdivision of Muṭikoṇḍaśōla vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja ppāṇḍi-nāḍu in a *vaṭṭeluttu* inscription of the king issued in his

86. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.40 in the time of Rajadhiraja. *S.I.I.* 1923, No.183 in the time of Kulōttuṅga.

87. *A.R.Ind.Ep.*, 1954-55, No.413.

88. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.170. It should be noted that Ulakuṭaiyāl was also the name of Rajendra's queen. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.623.

89. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.726, Two other records from Ānamalai refer to gifts of lamps *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, Nos.168 and 169.

90. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.172.

91. *A.R.S Ind.Ep.*, 1941-42, No.4.

twenty-third year<sup>92</sup>. Another record of the same date and script from Kaḷugumalai refers to the sale of three *mā* of land by the residents of Peruneccuram to the merchant Kāliyan Ambālam of Rājacūlāmanipuram situated in Cennimaṅgala-kūrṇam, a sub division of Rājarāja vaḷanāḍu in Cōla-maṇḍalam. The boundaries of the land sold are stated to be to the south of the boundary of the land called *Kaṇṇikucci-vayal*, and the well in between this and the southern boundary of the tank called *Śāttan ēri*. Along with the land, the trees that stood on the site with other extant tanks, walls and stones were also given. The record also enumerates a gift of 31 sheep left in the hands of Idaiyan Śāttan otherwise known as Iraṇasiṅga Vīra Śeṭṭi, who was to maintain perpetual lamps with five *nāli* of ghee. Among the signatories of the grant were Śiṅgavara eṭṭi, Ūrkaṇakku Nakkan, Śendan Pūtan, Ēnādi Nāraṇan, Vellari of Peruneccuran, Idaiya Śendan and Vīra Śeṭṭi<sup>93</sup>.

The Kuṇumbur inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya, engraved on the Ādinārāyaṇa shrine, mentions the fact that he was the son of Śeṇṇi Rājendra Cōla and records the construction of the temple with all its adjuncts and the consecration of the image of Viṣṇu with his two consorts and another of Mārkaṇḍēya. It deals also with an endowment of land by Kōḍai Uttaman and his son Uttaman Appi who had purchased the land from the members of the local assembly (*ūrār*)<sup>94</sup>. The temple of Ādinārāyaṇa seems to have been founded in the tenth century but is now in ruins. The image of Ādinārāyaṇa in the central shrine is made of mortar and is represented in *Sukhāsana* with two *dēvī* figures, attended on either side by a kneeling figure of a bearded *ṛṣi*.

The last regnal year known for Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya is his thirtieth, as testified by the Āttūr inscription referring to a gift by one of the soldiers of the king's regiment called the Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya-tterinda Vēlār<sup>95</sup>. Other fragmentary records of the king without citing any reg-

92. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.174. There is another inscription dated in the same year at Sermādēvi citing Rājendra's *praśasti* beginning with 'Tirumaṇṇi vaḷara'.

93. *S.I.I.*, V, 1926, No.30.

94. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1940-41, No.277. There is another incomplete record dated in his twenty-third year at Kuṇḍalakkūttu. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.176.

95. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.167.



nal year are found at Ambāsamudram<sup>96</sup>, Cōlapuram<sup>97</sup>, Mannārkōyil<sup>98</sup> and Ševilippēri<sup>99</sup>. The range and distribution of his inscriptions in Ānamalai, near Madurai, Perundurai<sup>100</sup> in Pudukōttai, Mannārkōyil, Ambāsamudram, Vīraśikhāmaṇi, Kaḷugumalai, Gaṅgaikoṇḍān, Ševilippēri, Šermādēvi, Kuṇḍalakkūttu, Ādanūr, Cōlapuram, Tiruvitānkōḍu and Sucīndram indicate the extent of his territory. The Tiruvitānkōḍu inscription clearly shows that his authority was acknowledged in Kuru nāḍu.

Māravarman Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya seems to have been the successor of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya. It is not known in what relationship they stood to one another. The inscriptions of Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya range in date between his twentieth and twenty-ninth years. His only record at Tiruvāliśvaram,<sup>101</sup> dated in his twenty-fifth year, is engraved on the west wall of the central shrine and registers a gift of 13 cows for a perpetual lamp. The gift was to be maintained by Nāśakan Kūlvānai, who is, in fact, the general figuring in a record<sup>102</sup> of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya from this shrine. This clearly indicates that the general served both these rulers. This again is confirmed by a *vaṭṭeḷuttu* inscription from Ādanūr dated in the twentieth regnal year of Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya which is prefaced by a line in *vaṭṭeḷuttu* citing the twenty-third year of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya. The inscription also mentions that Ādanūr was included in the sub-division called Surāṅguḍi nāḍu which formed a part of Muṭikoṇḍaśōla vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja ppāṇḍi nāḍu<sup>103</sup>. These territorial divisions are also referred to in the records of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya.

The exact dates for the reign of Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya have not yet been fixed. An inscription from the Dakṣiṇāmūrti shrine<sup>104</sup> of

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96. *Ibid.*, Nos.179-181

97. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, pp.1 ff; also Appendix A.

98. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962. No.177.

99. *Ibid.*, No.178.

100. *Inscr.Pud.State.*, 1929, No.242. The Śiva temple here was built and named after the king as it is called Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya īśvaramuḍaiyār in the inscriptions.

101. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.187.

102. *Ibid.*, No.170.

103. *Ibid.*, No. 183.

104. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.190.

the Śermādēvi temple dated in the twenty-fifth regnal year of the king refers to the inner *pradakṣiṇa* named Rājādhirājan *curṛālai*, which was probably called after or constructed by Rājādhirāja (A.D. 1018-1054). This indicates that Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya was not far removed in point of time from Rājādhirāja and may have been his contemporary, ruling conjointly with Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya as suggested by the evidence of the Ādanūr record. There are only a few inscriptions of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya between the twenty-third and thirtieth years. Kṛṣṇa Śāstri identified Māra-varman Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya with Mummudiśōla and Gaṅgaikoṇḍa on whom Vīrarājendra conferred the Pāṇḍya country and the title Cōla-Pāṇḍya, with Jaṭavarman Uḍaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya<sup>105</sup>. Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya may be either another son of Rājendra or Rājādhirāja. The title Mummudiśōla was conferred upon the younger brother of Rājādhirāja. This is clear from the statement 'Perumura ttanṇṇiruru ttampiṇṇar tammul veṇṇikol Mummudiśōlanai temmunaiyaḍutiṇṇa Śōlapāṇḍyanenṇum' in the *praśasti* of Rājendra and Vīrarājendra<sup>106</sup>. The historical introduction concerning Vīrarājendra refers to the fact that Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōla, his son and the leader of the Elephant Corps, was given the title Cōla-Pāṇḍya and entrusted with the Pāṇḍya country: "Tanṇiruru maintanākiya Kaṅgaikoṇḍaśōlanai ēḷuyari yānaiccēnai ccōlapāṇḍiyanenṇ-unḍuyar maṇimudi ppāṇḍimaṇḍalamum kuḍuttaruḷi"<sup>107</sup>. Confirmation of this is found in an inscription of Uḍaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya dated in his third year from Śermādēvi in which he mentions his father (*nammayyar*) Vīrarājendra<sup>108</sup>.

Two of Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya's inscriptions from Kanyākumārī are dated in his twenty-fourth and twenty-ninth years, the former recording a gift of money.<sup>109</sup> The latter<sup>110</sup> mentions that the *sabhā* of Kalikkudi met in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the Rājarājēśvara temple and resolved to devote twenty *kāṣu* collected at their instance from public subscription by Accan Mārṇṇili, a merchant of Kumari towards meeting the expenses of food offering (*tiruvamudu*) in the temple, and for repairing the breaches in the tank called *Kōnāḍar kuḷam*. The *perumakkal* of Rājarājēśvaram agreed to supply two *nālī* of rice for

105. A.R.Ep., 1917-18, part-II, para-3.

106. T.V.Sadaśiva Paṇḍarattar, *Pirkōla ccōlar cartitiram*, 1949, p.261.

107. S.I.I., III, 1929, pp.3-6, 33.

108. *Ibid.*, XIV, 1962, No.194.

109. A.R.Ep., 1896, No.100.

110. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, I, 1910-13, pp.249-250.

the daily offering. The record is important as it gives some details of the social and economic conditions of the period. The *perumakkal* are stated to have assembled in the *mukha-maṇḍapa* of the temple on a Tuesday, with the *nakṣatra* Puṣya. Unfortunately the portion giving the month and day in the inscription is damaged. By means of an astronomical verification five dates<sup>111</sup> can be equated with the details given in the record between A.D.1079 and A.D.1080.

1. May 7, A.D. 1079, Vaikāṣi 14, f.d.t. 52, f.d.n. 71.
2. June 4, A.D. 1079, Āni 11, f.d.t. .92, f.d.n. .05.
3. March 3, A.D. 1080, Pangunī 11, f.d.t. .97, f.d.n. .44.
4. December 1, A.D. 1080, Mārgaṣi 1, f.d.t. .71, f.d.n. .84.
5. December 29, A.D. 1080, Tai 6, f.d.t. .34, f.d.n. .18.

An undated inscription<sup>112</sup> of Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya from Śermā-dēvi mentions Ulagudaiyāl, the queen of Rājendra. The Ambalanātha-śvāmin temple inscription dated in his twenty-first year refers to a brāhmaṇa lady named Maṇikuṭṭi naṅgai of Niṇṇayil as belonging to the Kaundina (Kaundinya) *gōtra* and as a donor of a lamp<sup>113</sup>. It is interesting to find the *gōtra* of a lady mentioned in the record, as this is unusual. Another inscription from the same shrine and dated in the same year refers to a gift of cows by a brahmana lady<sup>114</sup>. Yet another called Mādēvi naṅgai donated twelve *kāṣu* to the *aganālikai* śivabrāhmaṇas of the Cōlēndrasimhēśvara and Kailāsa temples at Nigarilicōla caturvēdimāṅgalam for maintaining a perpetual lamp in the Dakṣiṇāmūrti shrine<sup>115</sup>.

Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya's authority over Cēra maṇḍalam is testified by the reference to a palace servant, Kuḍitāṅgi Śeṅgoḍi of the Śeramānār vēlam who donated twenty-five sheep to the Kailāsa temple at Śermādēvi<sup>116</sup>. The Āttūr inscription dated in the king's twenty-

111. All these dates have been calculated with the help of L.D.Swami-kannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris*, A.D. 700 to A.D. 1700, 1922 and W.E. Wan Wijk, *Decimal Tables for the Reduction of Hindu Dates from the Data of the Sūrya Siddhānta*, 1938.

112. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.182.

113. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925 No.758.

114. *Ibid.*, XIV, 1962, No. 184.

115. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.190.

116. *Ibid.*, No.185.

second year refers to the provision made by a native of Karuppūr in Marugal nāḍu, a sub-division of Kṣatriyaśikhāmaṇi vaḷanāḍu in Cōla maṇḍalam for perpetual lamps to the temple at Āṇṇūr in Rājādhirāja caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḍa nāḍu, a sub-division of Ut-tamacōla vaḷanāḍu in Rājarāja-ppāṇḍi-nāḍu<sup>117</sup>. Below this inscription are two fragments, one dated in Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya's reign mentioning a palace servant named Śurritāḷi of śāttamaṅgalam and the other issued in the reign of Vīrarājēndra, with the *praśasti* beginning with the words 'Vīramē tuṇaiyāga'. The citation of Vīrarājēndra's *praśasti* and the reference to Rājādhirāja caturvēdimaṅgalam suggest that Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya was a contemporary of Vīrarājēndra and Rājādhirāja. Parākrama -nārāyaṇa brahmādhirāja was a *daṇḍanāyakam* officer under Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya<sup>118</sup>.

A second inscription of Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya from Āttūr dated in his twenty-fifth year refers to the śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple who agreed to maintain special offerings to the deity on every *amāvāsya* day and also to provide food to brāhmaṇas in the temple premises with the produce of the land endowed by Nṛpaśikhāmaṇi Mūvēndavēḷān of Maṅgalakkāl who bought the land from the *sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimaṅgalam<sup>119</sup>. The grain measure called *Sōmanāthan marakkāl* is also referred to. Yet another inscription dated in the king's twenty-seventh regnal year refers to a similar charity on *amāvāsya* day instituted by Abhimānarāja in the temple of Kanyābhagavati<sup>120</sup>. A gift of buffaloes for a perpetual lamp in the Sōmanātha temple by a native of Ponparri is referred to in an undated inscription of the king<sup>121</sup>.

Jaṭavarman Udaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya seems to have succeeded Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya as a viceroy of the Pāṇḍya kingdom. Though none of his inscriptions is found in the Tiruvāliśvaram temple, a brief note about his reign is given here as there is some confusion regarding his identity. There are strong reasons to identify him with prince Gaṅgaikoṇḍa Cōla, the son of Vīrarājēndra who was appointed as a viceroy in the Pāṇḍya country<sup>122</sup>. Five of his inscriptions are found at Sucindram ranging

117. *Ibid.*, No.186.

118. *Ibid* No.189.

119. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.191.

120. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, VI, 1927-28, p.152 No.114.

121. *A.R.Ep.*, 1929-30, No.403.

122. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.194.



in date between his third and twenty-fifth regnal years, indicating the length of his reign. The earliest dated in the third year refers to a gift of fifty sheep by Karikāla Cōla Vaiḍumbarāyan otherwise known as Cōla-Kēralan, a *daṇḍanāyakam* officer at Marudattūr in Tiruvāli nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājēndrasimha Vaḷanāḍu.<sup>123</sup> Karikāla-Cōla was the title conferred upon Vīra Cōla according to a statement in the *praśasti* of Parakēsarivarman Rājēndra<sup>124</sup>. Vīra Cōla may be identified with Rajakēsari Vīrarājēndra who was also known as Karikāla-Cōla in the Kanyākumārī record<sup>125</sup>. Since the *daṇḍanāyaka* figuring in the same record had also the title Karikāla Cōla it is possible that this title was conferred by Vīrarājēndra and that Jaṭāvarman Uḍaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya of this inscription was the same as Gaṅgaikoṇḍa who was made a viceroy by Vīrarājēndra. A close and comparative study of the palaeography of the stone inscriptions of Jaṭāvarman Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya Māṇavarman Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya and Uḍaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya has revealed that Jaṭāvarman Uḍaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya post-dated the other two.

An inscription from Sucīndram, dated in the twenty-fourth year of Uḍaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya, concerns the sale of a plot of land measuring three *mā* and three *kāṇi* by the *sabhā* of the village to Abhimāna Cōla Viḷupparaiyan or Teṇṇavan Dēvargaṇḍan of Madurāntaka-caturvēdi-maṅgalam in kuṟukkai nāḍu<sup>126</sup>. The *sabhā* is said to have met by notification in full quorum at the *maṇiyambalam* on the 29th solar day of the month of Mithuna. Among the boundaries of the land are mentioned the irrigation channel called Amarabhujāṅga *vāykkāl*, probably named after the king Amarabhujanga, and also the lake called *Puttan-ēri*, which is still extant. The Kuṟumbur record of the king dated in the twenty-fourth year, registers an agreement by the *ūrār* of Pāṇḍyanallūr to pay taxes on two plots of land gifted by Puruṣōttaman to the temple<sup>127</sup>. A third inscription from Sucīndram<sup>128</sup> dated in his twenty-fifth year, records a sale of land by the *sabhā* of the village to Sēnāpati Malayappiccōlan Veṅkaṭan Śaṅkaran of Uttamacōlanallūr in Nallārūr nāḍu, a sub-division of Rājādhirāja Vaḷanāḍu, a district

123. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, pp.136-138.

124. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, No.26.

125. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, 1920, No.34

126. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, p.138 and plate.

127. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep*, 1940-41, No.276.

128. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, pp.132-33 and plate.

of Cōla maṇḍalam. The sēnāpati endowed the land to the temple for certain special offerings accompanied by chant of *mantras* immediately after the *tirumañjanam* (sacred bath) and before the daily offering to the deity. A flower garden called Unnatarāman at the south-western side of the temple was also to be maintained. Sixty *kāṣu* were granted to the *sabhā* of Sundra Cōla caturvēdimāṅgalam by the donor in exchange for a plot of land owned by the *sabhā*. In acknowledging receipt of the sum the *sabhā* is stated to have received both the price of the land (*vilai-pporul*) and *iṟai-pporul* which meant the amount required to compound the tax for all time by one lump payment or by an investment to pay the annual tax from the interest. It is interesting to note that in the case of *dēvadāna* gifts, the assessment of the land was still due to the state but the donee, instead of the original owner of the land, was bound to pay it. This record is very important for the information it gives regarding the type of land tenures and the privileges and rights associated with the sale of land by a temple to a private buyer.

Uḍaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya's inscription from Śermādēvi, dated in his third year, is unique as it cites the 380th day and contains the names of several of his revenue officers and thus helps in establishing the identity of the king<sup>129</sup>. It records that the king, from his throne in Tirumañjana-śālai of his palace at Rājēndracōlapuram, declared certain *dēvadāna* land at Kallur free from tax (four *vēli* including two *vēli* named Śivapādaśēkharanallur), had them entered into the register (*varippottagam*) under the orders of his father (*nammayyar*) Vīrarājēndra.

An inscription from the Sugandhavanēśvara shrine at Periccikōyil, Ramnad district, engraved on the west wall of the Bhairava shrine is dated in the twenty-first year of Jaṭavarman. Vīra Cōla-Pāṇḍya. It concerns a gift of land by Maḷuvamānikkaṁ on behalf of his elder brother Rājādhirājapunguṇṇa nāḍālvān for the daily services and the burning of lamps before deity Kṣētrapāladēva in the Mattiśvaram-uḍaiya nāyanār temple at Jayaṅgaṇḍacōlanallūr<sup>130</sup>. In view of the high regnal year cited and the absence of any of his other inscriptions in the same name or area and also the reference to Rājādhirājapunguṇṇa-nāḍālvān, it is to be concluded that Vīra Cōla-Pāṇḍya is identical with

129. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.194.

130. S.I.I., XIV, 1962 No.171.

Gaṅgaikonda or Udaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya, who received the title and the kingdom from his father Vīrarjendra<sup>131</sup>.

The only other Cōla-Pāṇḍya king figuring in the inscriptions of Tiruvāliśvaram is Māṇavarman parākrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya. Only two records of his are known, one from Tiruvāliśvaram, and the second from Śermādēvi. The earliest, dated in his third year<sup>132</sup> records a gift of twenty-five sheep by Rāman-kēṇi Tanma ceṭṭi, to the deity at Tiruvāliśvaram. The sheep were left in the charge of Nāśakan kapilai who was to maintain a perpetual lamp with one *uḷakku* of ghee. The palaeography of the record would suggest a date in the beginning of the twelfth century in comparison with the inscriptions of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya from the same shrine. Nothing definite about this prince is recorded to suggest his relationship with other Cōla-Pāṇḍya princes who preceded him or to the line of the Cōlas. The fact that he does not mention any Cōla sovereign in his inscription establishes that he was an independent ruler though perhaps for a short period of four or five years. Nāśakan Kapilai may have been a military officer of the king as we find the title Nāśakan held by Kūlvāṇai, a general serving under Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya and Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya. The term Nāśakan probably is a designation for one who had distinguished himself in battle. It is also probable that Māṇavarman Parākrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya was a contemporary of Māṇavarman Parākrama Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1078-1100), who is known to be the successor of Jaṭavarman Śrīvallabha and a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I<sup>133</sup>.

The inscription from Śermādēvi is dated in the fourth year of Parākrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya<sup>134</sup> and is interesting in that it refers to Yōgadēva and his wife Sōmadēvi from Kāśmīradēśa, who made a gift of twelve *kāṣu* for burning a perpetual lamp to the deity Kailāsamudaiyar. Yōgadēva was probably a prince of Kāśmir who had undertaken a pilgrimage to the *tirthas* in the South during the first half of the twelfth century. It is difficult to establish the identity of this prince as neither the *Rājatarāṅgiṇi* nor the known sources of Kāśmir history mention him. Other natives of Kāśmir figure prominently in inscriptions of the eleventh and twelfth centuries from Chingleput, Trichinopoly, and

131. S.I.I., III, 1929, p.33.

132. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.196.

133. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan kingdom*, 1929, pp.120-124.

134. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.197.

Ramnad districts, testifying to the influx of remote northerners as pilgrims to the important temples in South India. The Tiruppalavanam inscription of Rājarāja refers to a gift of cattle by Kaṭṭimān Āriyan Tiruccirrembalam-uḍaiyaṛ Paduman from Kāsmira deśam to the temple.<sup>135</sup> Kattiman also figures in other inscriptions of Rājarāja from Tiruvorriyur<sup>136</sup> and Kālahasti.<sup>137</sup> In the fourteenth century Desadeva, son of Narayana of Kāsmiradeśam, made a gift of ten *accu* during the period of Kulāsekharadeva to the deity at Tittandatanapuram, Ramnad district<sup>138</sup>.

The Lōhara ruler of Kāsmīr, Harṣa (A.D. 1090)<sup>139</sup> is known to have adopted South Indian fashions and patterns of gold coinage. This is testified by Kalhana<sup>140</sup>. Somaladevi is referred to in the *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*<sup>141</sup> as the wife of Sujji, the minister of Loṭhaṇa. She is also said to be the daughter of Padmaratha, the king of Kalaṇjara.

The earliest Pāṇḍya king figuring in the Tiruvaliśvaram inscriptions is Śrīvallabha, a contemporary of Kulottuṅga I. There are two of his inscriptions dated in the seventh and ninth years on the north and south walls of the central shrine. The record of the seventh year is badly damaged. It refers to the village of Śivacaraṇa-śekharaṇallūr registered as tax-free *dēvadāna* in the seventeenth year of an unspecified king. The gift is confirmed in the record by the then ruler on the terms settled by Umayammai and given as *kāṇi* to Mānābharāṇa Vaikuṇṭha Nāḍālvān and his successors under the orders of the king's general (*sēnāpati*) Rājendra Veḷḷappa Nāḍālvān<sup>142</sup>. The unspecified king whose seventeenth year is cited must be Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya as the other inscription of Śrīvallabha from Tiruvaliśvaram<sup>143</sup> refers to the past *tirumugam* (royal order) of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya. Fur-

135. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No. 345.

136. *Ibid.*, 1911, No.369.

137. *Ibid.*, 1922, No.146.

138. *Ibid.*, 1926-27, No.600.

139. A.L. Basham, 'Harsa of Kashmir and the Iconoclast Ascetics' in *B.S.O.A.S.*, XII, 1948, pp.688-691.

140. *Rājatarāṅgiṇī*, edited by Durgāprasāda, 1892, *Taraṅga* vii, strophe 1923; also translation by M.A.Stein, II, 1900, pp.149 and 153.

141. *Taraṅga* viii, strophes 1921-23.

142. *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.239.

143. *Ibid.*, No.220.



ther, the inscription of Śrīvallabha dated in the seventh year refers to a number of officers who are already known from the inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya relating to a gift of five *vēli* of land. It is not possible to precisely date the reign of Śrīvallabha, though there is reason to believe that he was a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga. The mention of Mānābharāṇa Vaikuṇṭha Nādālvān and Vellappa Nādālvān in the Tiruvāliśvaram record is confusing as another donee Vīraśēkharan Adalaiyār Nādālvān refers to the fourth year of Śrīvallabha in one inscription<sup>144</sup> and the forty-fourth year of Kulōttuṅga in another<sup>145</sup> record from Kunnakudi, in which he transfers the *iṇai*, *antarāyam* and *kaḍamai* due to him from Nīl-Kenṇamaṅgalam to the temple of Tirumalai- Uḍaiya nāyanār. Yet another inscription of Śrīvallabha dated in his tenth year refers to the thirty-first year (A.D.1101) of Kulōttuṅga, who took Kollam,<sup>146</sup>. The reference to Umyammai also confirms that Śrīvallabha was a contemporary of Kulōttuṅga I. There is, more over, some confusion about the identity of this king as given in the epigraphical report<sup>147</sup>.

Some other known facts of the reign of Śrīvallabha can be discovered. The confusion in the Cōla empire leading to the accession to the Cōla throne of the Eastern Cālukya prince Rājendra Kulōttuṅga I, in about A.D. 1070, gave the Pāṇḍyas a chance to recoup some of their lost power and glory. Śrīvallabha retained considerable authority for at least twenty-three years<sup>148</sup>. The grandiloquent *praśasti* beginning with the words 'Tirumaḍandaiyum Jayamaḍandaiyum' contains only few historical details of his reign. Two thrones, Pāṇḍyarāyan and Kāliṅgarāyan, called after an important officer Kāliṅgarāyan and an Aḷagiyapāṇḍyan hall in Madurai to the east of Māḍakkulam are also referred to. His son (*piḷḷaiyār*) Sundara-Pāṇḍya is referred to in another inscription<sup>149</sup>. The coin *tiramam* seems to have been current during his time. Most of the canals, sluices and water bunds referred to in his inscriptions are named after Parākrama Pāṇḍya. The grain

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144. A.R.Ep., 1909, No.30.

145. *Ibid.*, No.32.

146. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.226.

147. A.R.Ep., 1909, Part II, para 23.

148. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.257. His inscriptions are distributed in Tirunelveli district and Madurai district, particularly at Kuruvitturai and Tiruppattur.

149. A.R.Ep., 1909, No.493.

measure called *Vīra-pāṇḍyan* was also in use. All these details show that Parākrama Pāṇḍya and Vīra Pāṇḍya were the predecessors of Jātavarman Śrīvallabha and showed interest in the agricultural condition of the Pāṇḍya country.

Next in Chronological sequence among the Pāṇḍya kings figuring in the Tiruvāliśvaram inscriptions is Vikrama Pāṇḍya, who occupied the Pāṇḍya throne with the help of Kulōttuṅga III, as is recorded in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga<sup>150</sup>. An undated inscription which is definitely later than the fourth year (A.D.1182) of Kulōttuṅga<sup>151</sup>, records that the son or sons of Vīra Pāṇḍya were defeated by the Cōla army. The sinhaless soldiers had their noses cut off and were forced to rush into the sea to escape the ravages of the Cōla army. Vīra Pāṇḍya was forced to retreat. The town of Madurai was captured and the Cōla army commemorated their seizure of the Pāṇḍya throne by planting a pillar of victory. The town of Madurai, the pāṇḍya throne and the kingdom were then transferred to Vikrama Pāṇḍya, who was an ally of the Cōlas. Vikrama Pāṇḍya was apparently a weak ruler depending more on Cōla support than on his own strength even during his short rule of seven or eight years. Kulōttuṅga had to help him when Vira Pāṇḍya attacked with a strong force in about A.D. 1187 at Neṭṭūr. These events are narrated at some length in Kulōttuṅga's records dated in the seventh and eleventh years<sup>152</sup>.

The Tiruvāliśvaram inscription of Vikrama Pāṇḍya<sup>153</sup> dated in his seventh year is engraved on a slab used for spreading flowers in the temple. It mentions that the slab was presented to the temple by Uḍaiyān Abhayampukkan Adirviśiyāḍuvān<sup>154</sup>, a resident of Niccitta-kaṇṭha perun-teruvu in Rājarāja eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam. The name of the donor Adirviśiyāḍuvān suggests that he was an expert garland maker. Niccitta-Kaṇṭhan (one who had a decisive mind) was probably one of the surnames of Rājarāja. Rājarāja eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam was one such town formed during the period and named after Rājarāja I. It was a

150. S.I.I., III, 1929, Nos. 28, 86 and 88; A.R.Ep., 1906, Nos.42-43 A.R.Ep., 1907, Nos.190-192; 1908, No.94.

151. S.I.I., VI, 1928, No.436.

152. S.I.I., III, 1929, Nos. 87 and 88.

153. A.R.Ep., 1916, No.371.

154. Alagan Adirvisiyaduvan of Mahindapuram was a donor in the Vellānūr inscription of Kulaśekhara. Inscr.Pud.State. 1929, No.540.

suburb of Tiruvāliśvaram. Eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam may also be interpreted as a town of the *eri-vīras*, a sect of the community which was widespread, with special centres ear-marked as their own<sup>155</sup>.

Jaṭāvarman Tribhuvanacakravarttin Kulaśēkhara is represented by nine inscriptions in Tiruvāliśvaram<sup>156</sup> ranging in date between his second and twenty-seventh years. His date of accession has been fixed at A.D. 1190 and he ruled from Madurai with considerable power till at least A.D. 1217. He was the immediate successor of Vikrama Pāṇḍya. The Kallidaikuricci inscription dated in his second year refers to a *periya nāyanār* (elder relative), Śrīvallabha, one of his predecessors<sup>157</sup>. Another inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, the successor of Kulaśēkhara, refers to an earlier record issued in the third year of Śrīvallabha<sup>158</sup>.

Kulaśēkhara's inscriptions begin with one of the three forms of *praśasti* 'Pūtala maṭantai', 'Pūtala vanitai' and 'Pūvin kiḷatti'.<sup>159</sup> K.V.S.Ayyar has suggested that the inscriptions with the *praśasti* beginning with the words 'Pūtala maṭantai' should belong to the reign of Kulaśēkhara I, those beginning with 'Pūvin-kiḷatti' to the middle one and those with 'Pūtala vanitai' to that of Kulaśēkhara II<sup>160</sup> on the basis of his analysis of all inscriptions of Kulaśēkhara with the three *praśastis* discovered upto 1934. The same scholar has also suggested that Kulaśēkhara I counted his regnal years from A.D. 1162 and ruled till A.D. 1176-77. A special event marked the end of his fourth year (A.D.1166) just as the civil war in the Pāṇḍya country was beginning. This conclusion must remain tentative as a large mass of unpublished epigraphic evidence has been accumulated since 1934.

Nothing much of historical importance can be gleaned from these *praśastis* except a general indication in the 'Pūtala vanitai' variety particularly in the phrase 'vañjinankuṟu matakalir-ivarnda veñjina vēṅgai villuṭan oḷippa' which suggests that the Pāṇḍya kingdom began

155. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No. 365; 1912, Nos. 321 and 349; *Ep. Carn.*, V, 1902, Arsikere 23.

156. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos. 335, 356, 337, 355, 370, 342, 333 and 350.

157. *Ibid.*, 1907, No. 110.

158. *Ibid.*, 1905, No. 683.

159. *Ibid.*, 1916, Nos. 333, 337 and 349.

160. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, 1939-40, pp. 78-89.

at this time to hold its own against its Cōla and Cēra neighbours<sup>161</sup>. Further, Kōdai Ravivarman, a Cēra prince is referred to as the king's brother-in-law (*maccunanār*) in the Śermādēvi record<sup>162</sup>. From his inscription dated in the third opposite the seventh year engraved on the *adhiṣṭhāna* of the Saundarya nāyaki shrine in Tiruvāliśvaram it may be surmised that the king of Jētūṅga nāḍu, the Tiruvaḍi, was Kulasekhara's subordinate<sup>163</sup>. With the evidence available at present the precise dynastic connections cannot be established. From the provenance of his inscriptions it appears that Kulasekhara's rule extended over Madurai, Ramnad and Tirunelvēli districts. An important official named Jayaṅgaṇḍa Cōlan Śrīvalluvan was administering kalavali nāḍu in Ramnad for a long time<sup>164</sup>. The king's three thrones Maḷavarāyan<sup>165</sup>, Kāliṅgarāyan<sup>166</sup> and Munaiyadarayan<sup>167</sup> are also known. The Tiruvāliśvaram inscriptions furnish many interesting data and information for a reconstruction of the king's reign. The earliest inscription, dated in his second year in the month of Āṇi, registers an agreement by Tirutṇḍa nambi, a śivabrāhmaṇa, to the Śrīmāhēśvara and kaṅkāṇi officers of the temple to the effect that he would measure two *kalam* one *tūṇi* and one *pataḱku* of paddy for the festival and procession of the deity on the day of the *Kārttikai* festival<sup>168</sup>. The paddy measured was towards the interest on one *accu* gifted to the temple by Ammainambār of Rājarāja-eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam. This inscription is engraved on the northern base of the *ardha-maṇḍapa* and suggests that the *ardha-maṇḍapa* was added later during the time of the Pāṇḍyas.

Another inscription dated in Kulasekhara's third year has no *praśasti* but records a gift of two *accu* by Sēvakadēvan, residing in the Niccitta-kaṅṭhan perun-teruvu of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam. The money was to be utilised for providing food for ten *maḥēśvaras* on every *amāvāsya* day in the premises of the Grāmarājan *maṭha*. The endowment was to be supervised and maintained by the Śrīkāryam

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161. A.R.Ep., 1916, Nos. 349 and 370.

162. *Ibid.*, No.665.

163. *Ibid.*, No.370.

164. A.R.Ep., 1923, No. 313; 1924, part II, para 26.

165. *Ibid.*, 1909, No.459.

166. *Ibid.*, 1924, No. 29.

167. *Ibid.*, 1916, No.660.

168. *Ibid.*, No.335.



officers of the temple<sup>169</sup>. Kulaśekhara's other inscription dated in the third opposite the fourth year<sup>170</sup> gives astronomical details : *Karkāṭaka* 13, *śu di dvādaśī*, Monday, *Jyēṣṭhā-nakṣatra* which by verification and calculation would correspond to, A.D. 1196, Monday, July 8 on which day *śu* 12 ended at .89 and *nakṣatra Jyēṣṭha* at .44 of the day<sup>171</sup>. It begins with the *praśasti* 'Pūvin kilatti ' and registers the sale of land by the *maḥāsabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam to the Caṇḍēśvara pillaiyār of the Tiruvāliśvaram temple. It also refers to the king's camp at Tirumanikkayal and to number of learned *sōmayājins* and *kratus* who were witnesses to the transaction.

The Grāmarājan *maṭha*, seems to have been an important religious and educational establishment as is evidenced by another epigraph of Kulaśekhara dated in his ninth opposite the first year from Tiruvāliśvaram<sup>172</sup>. It registers the grant of ten *accu* by Dēvan Sambandhan of Malai maṅḍalam for providing food to fifty persons every month in the *maṭha*, where the devotees and worshippers of Tiruvāliśvaram were permitted to reside. It mentions too that the interest on one *accu* was five *kurūṇi* of paddy per month.

Kulaśekhara's inscription dated in the third opposite the seventh year, *Margali* 20, Sunday, *saptamī*, *uttara-bhādrapada* and day 2690<sup>173</sup> begins with the *praśasti* 'Pūtala vanitai ' and registers the king's order to the authorities of Tiruvāliśvaram for getting the rice required for offerings by giving the paddy to be husked by the *dēvadāsis* of the temple. The order was made at the request of the *Śrīrudras* and *Śrīmāhēśvaras* of Suttamalli maṅḍalam. It also refers to a similar order passed by the Tiruvaḍi of Jētuṅga nāḍu. Though the *praśasti* is that of Kulaśekhara I, the day of the solar month cited ( 2690 ) may point to a later reign of Jaṭāvarman Kulśekhara, who came to power in A.D. 1237. The palaeography of the record does not support this conclusion but points definitely to an earlier date. The other inscriptions of Kulaśekhara from Tiruvāliśvaram are damaged and not very important except for two, one of which is dated in the thirteenth opposite the

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169. A.R.Ep., 1916, No.356.

170. *Ibid.*, No.337.

171. L.D. Swamikannu pillai. *An Indian Ephemeris, A.D.700 to A.D. 1700*, 1922; W.E. Wan Wijk, *Decimal Tables for the Reduction of Hindu Dates of Surya siddhanta*, 1938.

172. A.R.Ep., 1916, no.355.

173. A.R.Ep., 1916, no.370.

fourteenth year<sup>174</sup> and another undated, which is badly mutilated but refers to the coin *ānai-accu*<sup>175</sup>. His well-known Tiruppūvanam copper-plate grant, dated in his twenty-fifth year (A.D.1214) records a grant of a new village formed by grouping together several old villages under the name of Rājagambhīra-caturvēdimāṅgalam after marking its boundaries in the traditional manner of taking round a female elephant and making periodical announcements. Rājagambhīra was one of the surnames of Kulasēkhara. The new village included as many as 140 old villages and land which lay in five sub-divisions, namely Kīranūr nāḍu, Panagalūr nāḍu, Tiyaṇdaikkūḍi nāḍu, Mērkkuḍi nāḍu and Puṟappaṟalai nāḍu<sup>176</sup>.

There is a certain difficulty in dating Pāṇḍya inscriptions which arises from the method of mentioning the regnal years in double dates as *a* years opposite *b* years. The usual and accepted procedure is to treat the date as equivalent to *a+b* years and calculate the date of accession accordingly. In the Larger Śinnamanur Plates<sup>177</sup> the regnal year two opposite the fourteenth ( *iraṇḍāvatīn edir paḍināṅkāvatu* ) is rendered in the Sanskrit portion as *Śoḍaṣe rājya varṣe*. Several other suggestions have been put forward which are both unsatisfactory and unacceptable. The double dates were interpreted to refer to the Paraśurāma and Bārhaspatya cycles by Sir Walter Eliot and Dr. Caldwell in the last century. Dr. Burnell was of the view that in the double dates, the first one (*āṇḍu*) refers to the regnal year of the king and the second to his age. Dr. Hultzsch<sup>178</sup> suggested that the first and second (*edir*) dates refer to the date of appointment as heir-apparent and the actual reign. This theory was followed by V. Venkayya. T.A. Gopinatha Rao<sup>179</sup> suggested that the two dates referred to the actual regnal year of the king and the year as counted from the consecration of the previous ruler till the coronation. Narayana Ayyar's suggestion that the date opposite to which other dates follow remains constant in the case of

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174. *Ibid.*, No.342.

175. *Ibid.*, No.333.

176. *Ep.Ind.*, XXV, 1939-40, pp.64-136.

177. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, p.453, text lines 57-58; p.456, text lines 146-147.

178. *Ind. Ant.*, XX, 1891, pp.288-89.

179. *Sen-Tamil*, IV, 1905-06, p.114.

the same ruler is also untenable. Finally S. Subramanya Sastri<sup>180</sup> attempted to interpret the *āndu* and *edir āndu* in the Tiruvēndipuram inscription of Rājarāja III ( A.D.1216-1246 ) as referring to a period of interregnum. The reference to more than one *edir āndu* is interpreted by the same scholar as referring to frequent breaks and restorations. This may be probably true in the case of Rājarāja III but there are enormous difficulties in applying the test to the numerous Pāṇḍya inscriptions which cite more than one date. All these speculations fail to explain why inscriptions of one and the same reign have different figures on both sides of the phrase *edir* and this has been translated by official epigraphists as 'opposite '. In spite of these uncertainties, taking the sum of the first and second dates to refer to the whole reign of a king is the only plausible and convincing solution as suggested by the evidence of the larger Śinnamanur Plates and the Tiruppuvanam Grant of Kulaśekhara.

Māraṇvarman Tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya, 'who was pleased to take the Cōla country ' was the successor of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara. His date of accession has been fixed by Kielhorn in A.D. 1215-16<sup>181</sup>. This is confirmed by one of his inscriptions at Tiruvāliśvaram<sup>182</sup>. It is dated in his fifth year and gives astronomical details namely *Makara 4, su di 2, Monday* and *Dhanīṣṭha* which corresponds to Monday, 28th December, A.D. 1220. The *nakṣatra* commenced at .04 ending at .44 of the next day. His other inscriptions from Tiruvāliśvaram range in date between the second and sixteenth years although his last recorded regnal year is twenty-three<sup>183</sup>. There are, however, a few inscriptions between his seventh and sixteenth years. His inscriptions often contain a very long and elegant *praśasti* beginning with the words 'Pūmaruviya tirumaḍandaiyum'<sup>184</sup> furnishing information of considerable interest. There is little reason to doubt

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180. *The interpretation of Double Dates, āndu and edir āndu in the regnal years of certain Chōla, Pāṇḍya and other kings*, published by Tirumala Tirupati Devasthānam, Tirupati. Reviewed in *J.I.H.*, XXVI, 1948, pp.92-95.

181. *Ep.Ind.*, VII, 1901-1902, Appendix II, p. 24; *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, Part II. para 41; *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911-12, p.33.

182. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.353. Transcription in Chapter V.

183. *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, No.207.

184. *Ibid.*, 1916, No.340.

the statements made in the Tiruparankunram inscription<sup>185</sup> of his seventh year that the Pāṇdyas extended their sway at the expense of the Cōlas. After his coronation Sundara Pāṇḍya undertook an expedition against the Cōlas and ravaged the cities of Tanjore and Uṛaiyur, plundering the surrounding territories. The Cōla king, it is stated, had to seek refuge in flight, after which the Pāṇḍya performed a *vīrābhiṣēka* in the *abhiṣēka-maṇḍapa* of the Cōlas. It is further mentioned that he went to Cidambaram to worship at the famous shrine of Naṭarāja and having sent for the vanquished enemy, the Cōla king, who came along with his son and paid obeisance to the victorious Pāṇḍya, bestowed on him his lost territory, crown and title Cōla-pati. He also confirmed this by issuing a royal rescript with the Pāṇḍya seal. The titles 'śōnāḍu koṇḍaruliya' 'śōnāḍu koṇḍu Mudikoṇḍasōlapurattu vīrar-abhiṣēkam paṇṇiyaruliya' and 'śōnāḍu valangi aruliya.' appear as early as the third year of the king's reign<sup>186</sup>.

Sundara Pāṇḍya seems to have invaded the Cōla territory quite early in his reign though the restoration of Cōla is not mentioned till his sixth year<sup>187</sup>. The Cōla opponent was Kulōttuṅga III but it was to Rājaraḷa III the Cōla throne was restored in A.D.1217<sup>188</sup>. Sundara Pāṇḍya freed from prison the kings of North and South Koṅgu who had been quarelling over mutual territorial encroachments. It is not known, however, how they both were imprisoned. The ruler of Southern Koṅgu was Vīrarājendra ( A.D. 1207-1253 )<sup>189</sup> who claims to have ruled over the two Koṅgus<sup>190</sup>. The ruler of North Koṅgu may be the Adigaimān of Tagaḍūr who held possession of the Koṅgu territory from earlier times. The other possibility is that he was a Koṅgu-Cōla ruler but no such ruler of this period has been discovered so far. If the reference is to the Adigaimān it may be to Viḍugāḍaḷagiya perumāl, who was subordinate of Kulōttuṅga III in A.D. 1200 or to his immediate successor<sup>191</sup>. This king who had other surnames such as Viḍugāḍan,

185. S.I.I., IV. 1923, No. 372.

186. A.R.Ep., 1906, No.362.

187. *Ibid.*, 1916, No. 341. Transcription in Chapter V. A different interpretation is given by K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Pāṇḍyan kingdom*, 1929, p.146.

188. *Ep.Ind.*, XXII, 1932-33, pp.41-42.

189. A.R.Ep., 1909, No.136.

190. *Ibid.*, no.106.

191. *Ibid.*, part II, para 34; *Ep.Ind.*, VI, 1900-1901, pp.332-333.



Vidugādalagiyan and Vyāmukta śravaṇōjvala is described as the son of Rājarāja adhīkan<sup>192</sup> and a lineal descendant of Elini, the Kērala king. His capital was Tagadai in Dharmapuri district. The range of his inscriptions in North Arcot district testify to his rule over North Koṅgu<sup>193</sup>.

The second war with the Cōla king referred to in the *prastasti* of Sundara Pāṇḍya was against Rājarāja III. The circumstances leading to his second campaign may be examined. Narasiṃha II, the Hōysala king who was the father in law of Rājarāja III marched to Śrīraṅgam in A.D. 1222 and in A.D. 1224 assumed the title 'Cōlamanḍala sthāpana-ācārya'<sup>194</sup> possibly at the request for help by Rājarāja III against Sundara Pāṇḍya. Narasiṃha was able to establish a new centre at Kaṇṇanūr five miles from Śrīraṅgam on the borders of Cōla and Pāṇḍya territories, indicating that the allied forces of Narasiṃha and Rājarāja triumphed. The earliest record referring to Kaṇṇanūr, ruled by Vira Sōmēśvara, the son of Narasiṃha is dated in the cyclic year Sarvadhāri (A.D. 1228)<sup>195</sup>. As Narasiṃha II ruled till at least A.D. 1233 Kaṇṇanūr may have been made the capital during his life time and his son stationed there to guard the Cōla king. Sundara Pāṇḍya seems to have allied himself with the Pallava Peruṇjiṅga, who was an enemy of Narasiṃha. Peruṇjiṅga styles himself 'Pāṇḍya-manḍala Sthāpana Sūtradhāra'<sup>196</sup>. It appears that Sundara Pāṇḍya was also helped by the Bāṇas in his wars against the Cōlas.<sup>197</sup> This help was reciprocated by bestowing the golden crown of the Cōla on a Bāṇa before the *vīrābhiṣēka* of Sundara Pāṇḍya at Āyirattali. A few inscriptions throw light on the question of Bāṇa-Pāṇḍya relationship. One from Jambukēśvaram refers to the gift of the Cōla country to Bāṇapati by Sundara Pāṇḍya<sup>198</sup>. Another from Tiruvellarai refers to the Pāṇḍya king who threatened to trample his unyielding enemies under the feet of his elephants<sup>199</sup>. The anti-Cōla policy of the Bāṇa ruler incurred the

192. S.I.I., VIII, 1937, No.126; S.I.I., VII, 1933, no. 127.

193. A.R.Ep., 1906, nos.544, 545, 547, 552 and 562.

194. Ep.Ind., VII, 1902-1903, p. 162.

195. J.F. Fleet, *Bombay Gazetteer*, I part II, 1896, p. 507.

196. S.I.I., IV, 1923, No.1342 B.

197. S.I.I., VIII, 1937, No.97.

198. A.R.Ep., 1908, No.481.

199. A.R.S. Ind.Ep., 1938-39, No.199

wrath of Narasimha, who even before playing a leading part in the restoration of the Cōla authority punished the Bāṇa for his disloyalty.

The earliest reference to the Bāṇas is in the Talgund Pillar inscription of Kākusthavarman<sup>200</sup>. Mayūraśarman is said to have levied a tribute from the great Bāṇa, who was probably a pallava feudatory. The territory ruled by the Bāṇas is described as 'Āndhrātpathah paścimatōkṣitīm' (in the land to the west of Āndhra) in the Sanskrit portion of the Udayēndiram plates of Vikramāditya II<sup>201</sup>. 'Vaḍugavaḷi mēṛku' in the Guḍimallam inscription of Nandipottaraiyar<sup>202</sup> and 'vaḍugavaḷi 1200' in the Tiruvallam inscription of Nandi Vikrama varman<sup>203</sup>. The Mudyānūr Plates of the Bāṇa king Malladēva Nandivarman which purport to date from Śaka 261 (A.D.338)<sup>204</sup>, the evidence of which on geographical points could be admitted mentions the twelve thousand villages in Andhra maṇḍala. Perumbāṇappāḍi, occurring in later Tamil inscriptions was another name for the Bāṇa territory. The province extended from Punganūr in the west to Kālahasti in the east. The river Pālār probably formed the southern boundary of the province.<sup>205</sup> On the analogy of the terms Dakṣiṇapatha and Uttarapatha, Āndhrapatha referred to in the Māyidevōlu Plates of Śivaskandavarman<sup>206</sup> along with Dhamñakaḍa or Amarāvati, may be taken to be synonym of Vaḍugavaḷi occurring in Tamil inscriptions.

The northern portion of the North Arcot district and parts of the Kolar district in Mysore would correspond to Perumbāṇappāḍi of the Tamil inscriptions, but it cannot be to the west of the Āndhra country nor form any part of it as implied by the expressions 'vaḍugavaḷi-merku' and 'Āndhrāt pathah paścimatō.' It is to be supposed that there was a road leading to the Āndhra country from the Tamil country or that the territory which lay between Andhra and Tamil areas was called Vaḍugavaḷi, as the road to Andhra ran through it and it was the area to the west of this road or the western portion of it that was ruled by the Bāṇas. Another possibility is that the name 'Vaḍugavaḷi mēṛku'

200. *Ep.Ind.*, VIII, 1905-1906, pp.24-36. Also D.C. Sircar, *Select Inscriptions bearing on Indian history and Civilisation*, 1942, pp. 450-55.

201. *Ep.Ind.*, III, 1894-96, pp.74-79.

202. *Ibid.*, XI, 1911-12, p.224, text lines 7-8.

203. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, p.90.

204. *Ind. Ant.*, XV, 1886, pp.172-177.

205. *A.R.Ep.*, 1906-07, part II, para 45.

206. *Ep.Ind.*, VI, 1900-01, pp.84-89.

was correctly applied to the Bāṇa dominions during the period when they were ruling as Pallava feudatories, a part of the districts to the west of Āndhra. With the rise of the Cāḷukyas in the seventh century, the Pallavas seem to have been forced out of the Āndhra territory and consequently the Bāṇas were also driven into the northern portion of the North Arcot district. This province they continued to call 'Vaḍugavali'. It is also possible that the Bāṇas may have applied the original name of their territory to any district occupied by them in later times.

The earliest of Sundara Pāṇḍya's inscriptions from Tiruvāḷisvaram is damaged<sup>207</sup>. It is dated in his second year and refers to an earlier grant made in the time of Periyānāyanār Kulaśekhara of a gift of twelve *accu*. From the interest accruing out of this amount the offerings and worship in the temple were to be conducted on *Śivarātri*. It also refers to a *nāṭṭu-kalaham*, when the *pūja* in the temple was stopped and four of the *accu* of interest due to the temple remained unpaid during this period of disturbance. The confusion and conflict in the Pāṇḍya and Cōla territories during the later half of Kulaśekhara's rule is perhaps alluded to in the record. Another inscription engraved on the inner *gōpura* of the temple is dated in the king's fourth year.<sup>208</sup> It records an agreement (*tīṭṭu*) given by a śivabrāhmaṇa Nalāyira bhāṭṭa to the Śrikāryam, dēvarkanmi, and kaṅkāṇi officers of the temple for conducting an annual festival and procession on the day of Dhanīsthā *nakṣatra* in the month of Kārttikai out of the money received from Vikraman Aghōradēvan of Paḷliccēy in Malai maṇḍalam. It also refers to gift of one *accu* left with Tirujñānasambandha bhāṭṭa by Ādinārāyaṇa bhāṭṭa for the same purpose. Dhanīsthā was the birth star of the king and it was on this day that special offerings and festivals here held in the temple. This is confirmed by another inscription of the king dated in his eighth year<sup>209</sup> which incidentally gives a clue to the dating of the inner *gōpura* of the temple.

Another royal inscription with the epithet 'śōnādu ṭōṇḍaruliya' dated in his fifth year records a gift of three *accu* by Āriyāl Bhuvani Āṭkoṇḍanāyaka māṇikkam, a dēvarāḍiyāl. The money was left with Adirviśiyāḍuvān for providing food to fifteen ascetics every month in the

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207. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.363.

208. *Ibid.*, No.344.

209. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, no.340.

Vīra paṇḍitan *maṭha* in the precincts of Tiruvāliśvaram<sup>210</sup>. The same *maṭha* was a recipient of another gift of six *accu* for providing food to a further thirty ascetics on the day of the Rōhiṇi *nakṣatra*<sup>211</sup>. The same institution was the beneficiary in the eighth opposite the first year of the king<sup>212</sup>. Among the signatories mentioned in a record dated the fifth year were Tiruvālavāy udaiyān, Cēramān Tōman, Tatpuruṣa dēva and Aghōra dēva<sup>213</sup>. Tiruvālavāy is certainly Madurai as it is known to have had the name since the times of Jñānasambandhar and Sundarar<sup>214</sup>. The engraver of the record was Nāṭṭu nambi. Tatpuruṣadēva was an important temple officer and treasurer of Sundara Pāṇḍya for he is mentioned as receiving four *accu* gifted by Aghōra dēva to provide food for the mahēśvaras on every Bharani *nakṣatra* in the Grāmarājan *matha*<sup>215</sup>.

From another inscription dated in Sundara Pāṇḍya's fifth year we learn that a *dēvaraḍiyāl* of the temple 'Sempon Tyāgi Vīrabhadra-Nangai and her son Sadāvāsaka perumān and his brother left a gift of money with Vīrabhadra bhaṭṭa, a śivabrāhmaṇa of the temple for food offering on the day of the Śivarātri festival in the temple<sup>216</sup>. Vīrabhadra bhaṭṭa agreed to measure out five *kalam* of paddy on the day previous to Śivarātri in the month of Māsi<sup>217</sup>. Sempon Tyāgi is known to have made another donation of 14 *accu* to the temple for the annual festival of *pavitra* (Agni) in the eleventh opposite the third year of the king's reign<sup>218</sup>. Another record dated in the fifth year and the month Paṅguni of Sundara Pāṇḍya, is interesting as it mentions the setting up of the shrine of Ālālasundara nāyanār in Tiruvāliśvaram by Kulaśekhara bhaṭṭa and his consort Paṇḍavai nācciyār. The inscription records the gift of six *accu* remitted into the temple treasury by Āṭkoṇḍanāyaka māṇikkam, a *dēvaraḍiyāl* of the temple for food offerings (*śāttupaḍi*

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210. *Ibid.*, No.353.

211. *Ibid.*, No.357.

212. *Ibid.*, No. 351.

213. The same as the donor in *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.344.

214. *Tevāram*, Kāṣi Mutt edition, 1949, p.361.

215. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No. 358.

216. *Ibid.*, No.352.

217. *Ibid.*, No.354.

218. *Ibid.*, No.362.



and *amutupaḍi*) on the auspicious occasion of the marriage of God *Ālālasundara*<sup>219</sup>.

Sundara pāṇḍya's inscription dated in the fifth year (A.D. 1220) in the month of *Puraṭṭādi* from *Tiruvāliśvaram* has the *praśasti* beginning with the words '*Pūmaruviya tirumaḍandaiyum*' and registers the sale of the right of *Kārāṇmai-kāni* by *Śrīvallaḥhan Aḷagan Malaiyarāyan* of *Vīrakāvalar-kōṭṭai* in *Rājarāja-eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam* to *Sōmayāji Gaṅgādhara* of *Pāppāṅkuṛicci*, the first *cēri* of *Rājarāja-caturvēdimāṅgalam* for 120 *ānai-accu*. The following details of the boundaries of the land are mentioned; East-to the west of the sandal grove and valley (*śandaṇa ttālvu*) South-to the north of the trident marking the boundary of the tank called *Vikrama Pāṇḍya-ppallava-daraiyan* and the land called after *Arulāla Pāṇḍya-ppallava-daraiyar* and the ant hill on the bank of the *Appāṇḍār* tank; west-to the east of the stream running near the *śemmēḍu* (elevated hillock) and North-to the south of the *dēvadāna* land and the trident mark in the irrigation channel called *Vēlṅgapallī vāykkāl* and the *Vinai-āru*. The other rights such as irrigation facilities for the land, namely the *Appāṇḍār kuḷam* (tank), the *naṇjai* and *puṇjai* land (wet and dry) the spring wells near the land, the trees that stood on the site were also given along with the sale<sup>220</sup>. The mention of *Vīrakāvalar-kōṭṭai* is significant. It was a fortress used as a defence to guard the town and temple of *Tiruvāliśvaram*. It is, however, not extant, though further intensive exploration in the area may probably bring it to light. *Pāppāṅkuṛicci* is identical with *Pāppāṅkuḷam*, eight miles from *Ambāsamudram*. The name suggests that it was predominantly a brāhmaṇa village<sup>221</sup>.

An agreement given by three prominent śivabrāhmaṇas *Ādiccan Śiṅgan* (*Ādityasiṃha*), his brother *Jayapādan* and his brother *Śiriyāṇ-dānbhaṭṭan* to the *dēvarkanmi* and *śrīkāryam* officers of *Tiruvāliśvaram* for conducting the processional festivities of the God and Goddess on the day of the *Rōhiṇi nakṣatra* in the month of *Kārttikai* from the interest on one *accu* received from *Kālisūriyan Vīrasūriya ppallavaraiyan* of *Malai maṇḍalam*, in the month of *Paṅguni*, is known from another record of the king dated in his fifth year<sup>222</sup>. The interest on one

219. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.345.

220. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.348.

221. A long list of *Cēris* (hamlets) is given in the *Mannārkōyil* inscription of *Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya Ep. Ind.* XI, 1911-12, pp.296-98.

222. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916; No.346.

*accu* per month is stated to be five *kalam* of paddy. The introduction of Śiriyāṇḍan bhaṭṭan as 'ivan tambi' in the text of the record after Jayapādan is significant. The inference is that Ādityasiṃha and the other two were not uterine brothers.

The consecration of the Subrahmanya shrine ('Kuṇṇam-erinda-pillaiyār') and the construction of a *maṇḍapa* called Niccitta-kaṇṭhan in Tiruvāliśvaram by a brahmana named Śrī Vāsudēvan Adiraśan Tyagavinōda brahmādhirāyan is attested by another inscription of the king referring to the fifth opposite the first year<sup>223</sup>. It describes the king with the title 'Śōnāḍu vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya'. This is the earliest reference to the king's restoration of the Cōla country to Rājarāja III. The shrine of Subrahmanya was the recipient of a gift of one *accu* from a resident of Tiruvāliśvaram for a twilight lamp (*sandhyā-dīpa*) in the shrine, in the seventh opposite the first year of the king's reign. Here again he bears the title 'Śōnāḍu vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya'<sup>224</sup>. Another of the Tiruvāliśvaram inscriptions<sup>225</sup> refers to the king's fifth opposite the first year and the month of Panguni. It records a gift of eight *accu* by śōlan śīyan Aghōradēva of the Jīyar *santāna* of the Gōlaki *maṭha* for conducting a procession of the deity ('elundaruḷivikka') on every *amāvāsya* day. The lineage of the teachers of the Gōlaki *maṭha* is discussed in Chapter IV.

That the birthday star of Sundara Pāṇḍya was Dhanīṣṭā (*Aviṭṭam*) in the month of Purattādi, as was noticed earlier, is confirmed by another record of the king dated in his eighth year and 271st day from Tiruvāliśvaram<sup>226</sup>. It records a gift of nine *mā* one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* of land as *dēvadāna*, free of tax (*iṛaiyili āka*) and with incomes ('antarāyam uṭpaṭa') made by the king at the request of Maḷavaraiyar to the temple for bathing the god on the birth day of the king, and for conducting on the same day a festival instituted by Tamiḷa-ppallavaraiyan<sup>227</sup>. Below this inscription are engraved two

223. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.341.

224. *Ibid.*, No.360. He had another title 'Atiśaya pāṇḍya'. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.662; also part II, para 9.

225. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.364.

226. The king's name as given in this record is Tribhuvanacakravarthi Kōṇērinmaikōṇḍān. But on considerations of Palaeography and other internal evidence, this can be definitely assigned to Sundara Pāṇḍya. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.338.

227. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.338.

lines of the king's *praṣasti* 'Pūmaruviya tirumaḍandaiyum'. The order transferring the gift land to the temple is recorded in another inscription with the title 'ṣōnāḍu vaḷaṅgi aruḷiya', engraved on the south wall of the first *prākāra*. It is dated in the eighth year and refers to the king as seated on the throne called Maḷavarāyan in the bed chamber of his palace at Madurai. His officers Tamiḷa-ppallavaraiya and Maḷavarāyan are also mentioned as being directed by the king to enter the order regarding the transaction in the books of the registry office<sup>228</sup>. The unfinished and undated inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya on the east wall of the *prākāra* records a gift of money for conducting the festival of Kārttikai by a resident of Tiruvāliṣvaram<sup>229</sup>. Another inscription<sup>230</sup> referring to the fourth opposite the first opposite the first year ('yāṇḍu nālāvatin edirāmāṇḍin edirāmāṇḍu') of the king is interesting but problematical. It gives the details of the month Āvaṇi, 2nd day, Thursday and Uttara bhādrapada, which are just enough to be verified and calculated. The only occasions between A.D.1184 and A.D.1384 when Uttara bhādarapada coincided with Thursday and the second day of Āvaṇi were 1) A.D. 1276, July 30, Thursday. Uttara bhādrapada began at .08 and ended the next day at .19. This was the third day of Āvaṇi by the Ārya siddhānta but the second day Āvaṇi by the Sūrya siddhānta.

2) A.D. 1371, July 31, Thursday when Uttara bhādrapada began at .01 ending at .00 the next day. This was the second day of Āvaṇi both by Ārya and Sūrya siddhāntas<sup>231</sup>. The palaeography of the inscription points clearly to an earlier date. The record also refers to the request of Śōlakōn one of the *mudalis* of the Bhikṣā maṭha and also to the subsequent rehabilitation of two villages in Tirukkāmapuram. Jayamukharaman figures as signatory of the grant and the engraver is stated to be Tiruttonḍācāryan.

Tan-porundam as the name of the Tāmraparṇī occurs in an inscription on the south wall of the *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine of Tiruvāliṣvaram<sup>232</sup>. The record is dated in the eighth year

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228. *Ibid.*, No.340.

229. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.365.

230. *Ibid.*, No.347.

231. L.D.Swamikannu Pillai, *An Indian Ephemeris, A.D. 700 to A.D.1700*, 1922; H.Jacobi, 'New special Tables for the computation of Hindu Dates' in *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911-12, pp.158-173.

232. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.341; also *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911-12, p.296.

in the month of Mārgali and refers to Sundara Pāṇḍya without any epithet. It registers the gift of one *accu* equivalent to five *kalam* of paddy by Nārāyaṇa Aiyappan of Kuruputtūr in Malai maṇḍalam, left with Vīrapaṇḍita bhaṭṭan, a śiṣyabrāhmaṇa of the temple for securing water from Tan-porundam to bathe the god on Sundays. The copy of the document was written by Karumaṇikka nambi of Vaikuṇṭhanallūr in Milalai kūrram. K.V.S.Ayyar's identification of Mo-Lo-Ku-T'a of Hsuan Tsang with Milalai kūrram is incorrect<sup>233</sup>.

The Saundarya nāyaki shrine in Tiruvāliśvaram has on its *adhiṣ-thāna* an inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya dated in the fifteenth opposite the first year. It records a gift of one good *ānai accu* for a *sandhyādīpa* in the shrine by a resident of Rājarāja-eri-vīra-paṭṭaṇam<sup>234</sup>. The reference to a good *ānai accu* is suggestive. Perhaps there were other coins in circulation which were not up to the standard coins issued by the king. The same shrine has another record dated in the sixth year and twentieth day of Tribhuvananaḥakravartti Kōṇērinmaikoṇḍān, who is to be identified with Sundara Pāṇḍya. The inscription contains the interesting information that the land gifted to the temple of Tirunelvēli was situated to the south of Tiruvāliśvaram and was reclaimed after cutting down the forest overgrown with jack trees<sup>235</sup>. Yet another inscription, though not referring to any king's reign, is dated in the twenty-sixth year and 345th day and the month of Āni. It refers to an order of the *sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam regarding the newly constituted village situated to the south of Tiruvāliśvaram. It also specifies that the right of *Kaḍamai* over the village was to be held by the temple of Tirunelvēli and the right of *kārāṇmai* by Kāliṅgarāyan. The villages was then to be entered in the registry accounts as tax free *dēvadāna*. The signatories of the document included, among others, Kulaśekhara vāṇadaraiyan. The word *tulyam* at the end of the record indicates that it was a copy.<sup>236</sup>

The other inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya on the walls of the inner *gōpura* of Tiruvāliśvaram are undated and mutilated but appear to register gifts of money by a number of *dēvaraḍiya*<sup>237</sup>. Another in-

233. *Historical Sketches of Ancient Dekkan*, 1917, pp.115-122.

234. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.367.

235. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.369.

236. *Ibid.*, No.368.

237. *Ibid.*, Nos.343 and 366.



complete inscription<sup>238</sup> without details either of date or king contains valuable information. It records that while the Mahēśvaras, śrīrudras and the residents of the five *guha* met at the Kulāśekhara *maṇḍapa* in the temple of Tirunelvēli, the Mahēśvaras, Śrīrudras and the residents of Śuddhamalli maṅgalam, the western suburb of Tiruvāliśvaram informed them that the God and Goddess of *tirukkāmakkoṭṭam*<sup>239</sup> (dēvi shrine) were without any endowments. Unfortunately the inscription is incomplete and ends abruptly. The palaeography of the record would point to a date between the later half of the twelfth century A.D. and the first quarter of the thirteenth, but there is no other means of assigning the record to a particular king.

The only other Pāṇḍya king figuring in the Tiruvāliśvaram inscriptions is Jaṭavarman Tribhuvanacakravartti Vira Pāṇḍya, whose date of accession has been fixed by Kielhorn and Sewell in between 20th June and 24th July A.D. 1255<sup>240</sup>. Vira Pandya seems to have ruled for twenty-two years<sup>241</sup> till A.D. 1247-75. Most of his inscriptions are found in Tirunelvēli, Madurai Ramnad and Pudukkoṭṭai districts though there are some records at Kāncīpuram<sup>242</sup> and Coimbatore<sup>243</sup>. Only three inscriptions of this king, all dated in the third year, are at Tiruvāliśvaram. The earliest, issued in the month of Āvaṇi, records a gift of one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* of land, free of taxes, in the *dēvadāna* village of Śivacarāṇa-śekharaṇallūr with the *mēl-vāram* and *kīl-vāram* incomes made payable to Śrīharṣa bhaṭṭa of Tulakkili maṅgalam, the ninth *cēri* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam, for reciting Ṛg veda in the temple. It is further stated that the donee's ancestors were getting six *nāli* of paddy every day for the same recitation. Among the boundaries of the land granted are mentioned the irrigation channel Vāsudēva *vāykkāl* and the land lying to the east of the fifth sluice and to the west of the *Tiruvaraṅga-vadi* (high street leading to the fortress)<sup>244</sup>.

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238. *Ibid.*, No.336.

239. K.R.Srinivasan, 'Tirukkāmakkoṭṭam' in *Proc. Trans. All India. Or. Conf.*, 1946, pp. 50-56; V.R.R.Dikshitar, 'Note on Tirukkamakottam' in *Proc. Ind. Hist. Congress*, ninth session, pp.149-152.

240. *Ind.Ant.*, XLIV, 1915, pp.194-196.

241. *A.R.Ep.*, 1908, No.128.

242. *Ibid.*, 1919, No.483.

243. *Ibid.*, 1923, No.35; 1919, Nos.299 and 302 from North Arcot district

244. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.339.

The second inscription is dated in the month of Āvaṇi and the third year. It is an agreement given by eight śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple to Pugali-pperumāl of the *Jñānamṛta saṁtāna* of the Gōḷaki maṭha, for reading *tirujñāna* in the temple of śivacarāṇa-śekharaṇallūr a *dēvadāna* village<sup>245</sup>. Śivacarāṇa-śekharaṇallūr was a suburb of Tiruvāliśvaram as has been previously noted.

The third record<sup>246</sup> dated in the ninth day of the month of Puṟṭṭādi registers a gift of land made by the śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple to Aghōra dēva of the Gōḷaki maṭha for maintaining a flower garden named *Pāṇḍyadarayar tiru nandavanam* and for picking flowers to make garlands. It may incidentally be noted that another inscription from Tiruvāliśvaram<sup>247</sup> records the gift of flower stones by Nāgaḍēvan Puruṣōttaman.

The other aspects of the reign of Jaṭāvarṇan Tribhuvana-cakravartti Vīra Pāṇḍya has been discussed in detail by K.A.Nilakanta Sastri<sup>248</sup>.

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245. *Ibid.*, No.359.

246. *Ibid.*, No.361.

247. *Ibid.*, No.372.

248. *Pāṇḍyan kingdom*, 1929, pp.175-182.

# 3

## Administration and Economic Life

The period covered by this administrative survey, as gleaned from contemporary inscriptions and literary sources, extends over more than three centuries from c. A.D.850 to A.D.1200 and comprises the whole of the Tirunelvēli district, parts of Madurai, the rest of Pāṇḍya maṇḍalam and parts of Cōla maṇḍalam north of the Kāvēri in Trichinopoly in Madras State.

The quality of any good system of administration may appear from the progress of education, learning and culture since stability promotes the economic condition of the the people. A Tamil inscription dated in the sixth year of Kulōttuṅga I (A.D. 1076) proclaims this lofty ideal in the words *mallaiṅjālattu maṇṇuyirkkēllam ellayil inbam olivinil eyti* 'bringing unbounded happiness to the entire human race'.<sup>1</sup>

The form of government was monarchical<sup>2</sup>. The king is described in his official records as *uḍaiyār*, *cakravarttin* and *tribhuvanacakravarttin*. The inauguration of a king was a ceremony of great political significance. Though a prince usually acceded to the throne immediately after the death of the previous ruler, it was his inauguration that gave him the legal title to govern. Hence it is, for instance, that, when Rājādhirāja, the son of Rājendra I died in A.D.1054 in the battle of Koppam fighting against the Cālukya king Sōmēśvara I his brother

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1. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1932-33, p.66; *S.I.I.*, VII, 1933, No.85

2. For an admirable survey of Ancient Indian Kingship see J.Gonda, 'Ancient Indian Kingship from the Religious point of view' in *NUMEN* III, 1956, pp.36-71, 122-125, IV, 1957 pp.24-58, 127-164. Also Charles Drekmeier, *Kingship and Community in Early India*, 1962, pp.19 ff; J.D.M.Derrett, 'Bhū-bharana, Bhū-Palana, Bhū-bhōjana: An Indian Co-nundrum' in *B.S.O.A.S* XXII, 1959, pp. 108-123.

Rājendra II, who was then the *yuvarāja* and had been associated with the administration was crowned in the battle-field<sup>3</sup>. In some cases considerable time elapsed between the accession and inauguration of a king. The details of the inauguration ceremony are interesting. The two most important aspects of the inauguration were the *abhiṣēcana* with holy water<sup>4</sup> purified with by the recitation of Vedic *mantras* by brāhmaṇas<sup>5</sup>, a purely religious function and the inauguration proper (*rājasūya*), a partly religious partly secular function of a state ceremony. The king was to protect his subjects and to punish the wicked. For these functions he needed physical strength, force and victorious power. In addition he was expected to secure the prosperity of his people not only by administering justice but also by regulating powers of fertility, by causing rain, welfare and growth of vegetation<sup>6</sup>.

The Historical sculptures of the Viṣṇuṭhaperumāl temple at Kāñcīpuram and the inscribed labels under each of the panels gives us a detailed picture of the *abhiṣēka* and *rājasūya* ceremonies under the Pallavas<sup>7</sup>. The king was taken in procession to the palace, where he was received by the *mahāsāmantar* (vassals paying tribute to an over lord) *nagarāttār* (townsmen) and *mūlaprakritiyar* (artisans or peasants). Thereafter the *mantri maṇḍalam* (the counsellors), the *ubhaya-gaṇattār*<sup>8</sup> and *ghaṭikaiyar* (those in charge of the *ghaṭikas*), sprinkled the *abhiṣēcana* water and invested him with all the insignia

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3. S.I.I., V, 1925, No.645.

4. A sculptural representation of sacred water being carried for the inauguration is seen at the Viṣṇuṭhaperumāl temple, Kāñcīpuram. C.Minakshi, *The Historical Sculptures of the Viṣṇuṭhaperumāl Temple*, M.A.S.I., No.63, 1941, plate xxi c.

5. The South Indian purification ceremony is reminiscent of the ceremony of the holy water sprinkler in Bali. B.I.TC., 1962, pp.12-29 also J. Hooykaas, *Ritual Purification of a Balinese Temple*, 1961, p.61.

6. J.J.Meyer, *Trilogie alt-indischen Mächte und Feste der Vegetation*, III, 1937, p.306.

7. M.A.S.I., No.63, 1941, pp.36-37, Plates IV,V d, IX.3, X.1.3, XI.3 and XVI.2.

8. *Ubhaya* in Sanskrit means 'both' or 'both hands'. The term *gaṇa* is used with reference to religious communities, craft guilds and associations. In the Jaina *sūtras*, even individuals form new *gaṇas* *Gōdāsa gaṇa*, *Uttaravalissaha gaṇa*. Manu explains the term as meaning people or guild. (III-164-*Gaṇānām caiva yājakaḥ*). In inscriptions it is used to suggest a group in charge of administration.



of royalty<sup>9</sup>. From other evidence it may be inferred that the prince after his worship in the palace temple and the procession in the chariot along the principal streets<sup>10</sup> was taken to the coronation hall or *abhiṣeka-maṇḍapa*<sup>11</sup>. Attention should be drawn to an interesting sculptural representation of a royal *abhiṣeka* from Cambodia<sup>12</sup>. The stone on which the sculpture is found originally formed a lintel of the Vat En Khna and is now in the Albert Sarraut Museum at Hanoi. Under the arch of the Liṅgodbhava stele is depicted a procession of brāhmaṇas and nobles approaching a central figure from both sides with presents. The central figure wears a high crown and is seated on a throne in *maṇḍapa*. The round pots and narrow necked vessels, which several of them carry in their hands are *pūrṇa-kumbhas*. The *purōhita* to the right of the central figure is lifting the *kumbha* above the head of the latter in the act of pouring the water over his head. The other figure on his left does similarly with a conch. For these reasons the sculpture has rightly been interpreted as an *abhiṣeka*.

Reference to an *abhiṣeka maṇḍapa* in the palace at Kāñcīpuram is made in an inscription of Kulōttuṅga I<sup>13</sup>. Royal consecrations were also celebrated in *maṇḍapas* of temples. The kings after Arikēsari Parākrama Pāṇḍya were consecrated in the presence of Lord Viṣvanātha of Tenkāsi<sup>14</sup>. Kulaśekhara is referred to as having been consecrated in a *maṇḍapa* in the *vitaraṇa-vinōdan perunteruvu*, which faced the temple of Viṣvanātha<sup>15</sup>. The most important act performed during this ceremony was the fixing of the *paṭṭa* around the forehead and the *makuta* on the head of the king, on account of which the whole ceremony came to be called *paṭṭābhiṣeka* or *makutābhiṣeka*<sup>16</sup>. The *paṭṭābhiṣeka* of Sugrīva is represented in sculpture in the *Rāmāyaṇa* panel of the Nāgēśvara temple at Kumbakōṇam, built during the reign of Kulōttuṅga I. After the king had been invested with all the royal insignia, he started issuing orders in his own name. The suc-

9. *Ep.Ind.*, XVIII, 1925-26, p.117.

10. J.C.Heesterman, *The Ancient Indian Royal Consecration*, 1957 pp. 114, 127, 139, 169.

11. Also *Sahityaratnakara* of Yajñanarayana Dikṣita'. XII, strophes 1-31.

12. *B.E.F.E.O.* XXXI, 1931, p.492 and plate CVII.

13. *S.I.I.*, III, 1929, No.73.

14. *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, I, 1910-13, Nos. VII, VIII and X.

15. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, No.523.

16. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No.523.

cessful completion of wars seems to have been celebrated by special consecrations either in the centre of the defeated enemy or in some important city within the conquered territory. Kulōttuṅga III after his victories in Ceylon, Madurai and Karur celebrated his *vīrābhiṣeka* and *vijayābhiṣeka* at Karur<sup>17</sup>. Maravarman Sundra Pāṇḍya (A.D. 1216-1238), who led a successful expedition into the Cōla territory performed a *vīrābhiṣeka* in the consecration hall of the Cōlas at Āyirattali or Muḍikoṇḍa-cōlapuram.

The practise of beginning stone inscriptions with an account of the preceding events of the ruling king and also of these of preceding kings started in the time of Rājarāja I. The residences of the Pāṇḍyas were Koṟkai and Madurai, while royal thrones called Maḷavarāyan, Kāliṅgarāyan and Pāṇḍyarāyan are known<sup>18</sup>. The Cēra, Cōla and Pāṇḍya dynasties each had their own crest and banner. The *Peruntokai*<sup>19</sup> mentions the *śilai* (bow), *puli* (tiger) and *kayal* (fish) respectively as the crests and banners of the three powers. Most of the copper-plate charters of the Pāṇḍyas bear the figure of a pair of fish on their seals. The Tiruvālaṅgāḍu plates<sup>20</sup> and the Karandai plates<sup>21</sup> of Rājendra Cōla have the emblem of the tiger on their seals.

There is no definite evidence of the existence of a council of ministers or of other officers connected with the central government, although there are occasional references to *mantris* and *uttara mantris* in some of the Pāṇḍya inscriptions<sup>22</sup>. Not much information is available about the ministers under the Cōlas in spite of their innumerable inscriptions. Only the Anbil plates of Sundara Cōla<sup>23</sup> refer to a *mānya-saciva* in the person of a brāhmaṇa named Aniruddha:

Sāmaikadāma kakudaṁ dharāṇo surāṇaṁ prēmāgrahāranilayō  
sty = Anirudha nāmā /  
tasyāvanīśamakūṭārppitapādapadmāyugmsya mānyasacivo  
mahaniyakīrtteḥ //

‘This king whose lotus feet are placed upon the crests of kings and whose fame is praiseworthy, has a respected minister named Aniruddha who

17. S.I.I., V, 1925, No.632.

18. A.R.Ep., 1922, Nos.555 and 546; S.I.I., V, 1925, Nos.421 and 440.

19. Published by M.Raghava Aiyangar, 1906, p.15.

20. S.I.I., III, 1929, plate facing p.413.

21. A.R.Ind.Ep., 1949-50, plate facing p.17.

22. Ep.Ind. VIII, 1905-06, pp.318-320; S.I.I., V, 1925, No.248.

23. Ep.Ind., IV, 1919-20, 1925, pp.44-72.

is the chief abode of conciliation and the supporter of Gods and who lives in the *agrahāra* called *Prēma*'

*Māliṟuñjōlai* of *Pūvanūr* is described as *Cōlēndra man trin* of *Kulōttuṅga* and as the foremost of the *śūdras* and as a devout worshipper of *Viṣṇu* in an inscription at *Peṇṇaḍam*<sup>24</sup>. In the *Vijayanārāyaṇam* inscription of *Kulaśēkhara*<sup>25</sup> (accession A.D.1190) reference is made to *Tuppā Nārāyaṇan*, as the son of the prime minister (*mutal amaittan makan*). *Ādityadēvan Pallavaraiyan* of *Perumaṇalūr* seems to have served as a minister under *Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara* and *Māraṇvarman Sundara Pāṇḍya*<sup>26</sup>. The history of this minister and others and the part they played in the administration under the *Pāṇḍyas* are obscure. A numerous and powerful bureaucracy assisted, however, the king in the administration by controlling, supervising or regulating existing orders. Whatever legislation there was took the form of *vyavasthās* by the *sabhā* and *mahāsabhā* according to the accepted codes of *dharma*. The *smritis* and the *śiṣṭhās* commanded the allegiance of social groups more readily than royal mandates that contravened *dharma* and *ācāra*. The king was guardian of the social life and laws of the people, as elsewhere in India. The contemporary inscriptions reveal a good balance between centralised control and local initiative, which is a typical South Indian feature.

The *Mānūr* inscription of *Mārañjaḍaiyan*<sup>27</sup> is unique in the insight it gives into the actual working of the autonomous village assembly (*sabhā*) in the *brahmadēya* villages under the early *Pāṇḍyas*. It refers to the *vyavastha* of the *sabhā* of *Mānanilainallūr*, fixing the procedure to be followed in the meetings of the *sabhā* by laying down the minimum qualification in terms of property, education and character entitling persons to take part in the proceedings of the *sabhā*. It is stated that no king of *vāriyam*<sup>28</sup> (committee work) was to be assigned to a person who did not possess a full share (*muḷu śraṇanai*) in the lands of the

24. *A.R.Ep.*, 1928-29, No.271. The *Kaliṅgattupparaṇi* refers to *Kulōttuṅga I*, while camping at *Kāñci*, as being surrounded by his ministers good at counsel like the *Tonḍaiman*. Edited by *R.V.Kannaiya Nayudu*, 1944, p.186, verse 327.

25. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927, No.15.

26. *Ibid.*, 1922, No.543, also 1899, part II, para 42.

27. *Ep.Ind.*, XXII, 1933-34, pp.5-11.

28. This is one of the earliest uses of the term known in South Indian epigraphy.

village. The Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa<sup>29</sup> also mentions the *vāriyar* of the *sabhā* of Ṇāṅgōkkudi, which implies that the system of village administration was in operation in the Pāṇḍya area in the ninth century A.D. much earlier than in the Cōla area. It is difficult to decide whether these terms in the Pāṇḍya records refer to the committees of the assembly as at Uttaramērūr later in the reign of Parāntaka<sup>30</sup>. They seem to imply the choice of particular individuals for the performance of specific tasks. The *vāriyar* were individual officers carrying out the orders of the *sabhā* rather than an executive committee with the discretionary powers enjoyed by the committees of Uttaramērūr. It is clear from the resolution of the *sabhā* of Mānanilainallūr that no important executive duties could be entrusted to persons without a minimum property qualification.

According to the Mānūr epigraph the meetings of the assembly were summoned by the beating of a large drum (*peruṅkuri śārri*). The assembly met at a fixed hour in a public place as arranged in this case a *gōvardhana*, probably a Viṣṇu temple<sup>31</sup>. In the case of those holding shares in the lands of the villages taking part in the deliberations of the *sabhā*, only those who were conversant with the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa*<sup>32</sup> including one *dharma* and were of good conduct were allowed to take part in the discussions of the *sabhā*, only one person for each share. It was determined that those who exercised their right of property (*śrāvaṇai puguvar*)<sup>33</sup> acquired by purchase, gift or dowry, could not exercise their right to vote (*paṇikkavum*) in virtue of a quarter, half or

29. *Ep.Ind.*, IX, 1907-1908, pp.84-94.

30. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1904-05, pp.131-145. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri, *Studies in Cola History and Administration*, 1932, pp.96 ff, for a general survey of the administration of Uttaramērūr.

31. The term *gōvardhana* is used in the Uttaramērūr inscription of Vijaya Kampavikramavarman in the sense of a Viṣṇu temple. The relevant portion of the record reads: *emmūr śri- gōvardhanattu mahāviṣṇukaḷukku arcanābhōgamāka*. *S.I.I.*, VI, 1928, No.347.

32. The sacred Vedic hymns and the *Brāhmaṇas*. *Mantra* is an instrument of thought, speech or sacred text. The *Chāndōgya Brāhmaṇa* is also called the *Mantra Brāhmaṇa*. *A.S.I.A.R.*, 1904-05, pp.139 and 142 Sir Monier Williams, *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*, 1956.

33. The old Tamil lexicon *Pingalām* gives right to property' as a meaning of *śrāvaṇam*. *śrāvaṇa* just as may be taken to denote the right to property. For the inscriptional use of the term in the sense of a unit of land see *A.R.Ep.*, 1910, No.323; *S.I.I.*, VI, 1928 No.347.



three-quarter of a *śrāvaṇai*. Among those who had acquired shares by purchase the *śrāvaṇai* could be awarded to those who had proficiency in an entire Vēda, together with its *pariśiṣṭha*, and those who had received a *śrāvaṇai* could take part in the discussions only in accordance with the terms of the settlement (*kaccam*)<sup>34</sup>. In view of this arrangement those who did not possess a full *śrāvaṇai* could not be chosen for any kind of *vāriyam*. Those abiding by this agreement could not say nay and cause obstruction (*kūttukkal*) and their abettors were to be fined five *kāṣu* each and even thereafter the terms of the resolution were to be strictly followed and observed. The work of the assembly, when not in session, including the execution of its decisions, was apparently entrusted to the *vāriyar* of its choice. The inscriptions of this period do not give information on the size and duties of the *vāriyam*.

The king's officials enjoyed titles and distinctions such as *mārāyan*, *araiyan*, *pēraraiyan*, *adhirāja*, *piḷlai*, *nāḍālyān* and *mūvēndavēḷān*, especially those who distinguished themselves in civil occupations<sup>35</sup>. Madurāntakappēraraiyan, a prominent official, figures as a donor in the Sucīndram inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya<sup>36</sup>. A noble of the king named Śōḷa mārāyan or Vidyādharaṇ of the *peruntanam* status is referred to in another record<sup>37</sup>. The titles *enadi* and *mārāyan* are found very frequently in śaṅgam literature<sup>38</sup>. The true significance of *śiṟutanam* and *peruntanam* officers is not quite apparent. Dr. Hultsch explained the terms as small and big treasury officers and persons so entitled as officers of the treasury big or small. In all probability, *śiṟutanam* and *peruntanam* were purely honorary titles conferred on officers as well as private individuals according to the status held by them in official positions or in society. The earliest reference to a pe-

34. The term *kaccam* seems to be used in the sense of an agreement. It is probably derived from Sanskrit *kṛtya* / Prākṛit *kacca* or *kajja* / Tamil *kacca*. Hargovind Das T. Sheth, *Pāia-Sadda-maharṇava*, 1928, pp. 269-270. The expression *vilaipramāṇa kaccattu* (in the agreed sale deed) occurs in an inscription of Sambhuvarāya. S.I.I., I 1890, No. 52.

35. For a detailed discussion of land grants to vassals and officials in North India (c. A.D. 1000-1200) see *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient*, IV, 1961, pp. 70 ff.

36. *Trav. Arch. Ser.*, IV, 1924, p. 134.

37. *Ibid.*, VI, 1927-28, p. 9.

38. *Tolkāppiyam: Poruḷatikāram : purattiṇai sūtra*, 8-63, Edited by S. Bhavānandam Pillai, 1916, pp. 189 ff.

*runtanam* officer is in a record of Rājakēsari dated A.D.961<sup>39</sup>. Śaṅkaraṇ Alakiyaperumāl Maḷavarāyan of Kāladi was the prime minister of Maḷavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. His great grand father Maḷavarāyan also held the same office. It is worthy of note that the office of premier and some other offices were usually hereditary and the persons concerned appear to have been given the necessary training and education to hold them. Maḷuvamāṇikkam Adhirājapunguṇa nāḍālvān was another officer of Vīra Cōla-Pāṇḍya.<sup>40</sup> Alakiyapāṇḍyan was in charge of the affairs of the division Cōla-Pāṇḍya Valanāḍu under Kulaśēkhara<sup>41</sup>.

The twelve principal officials of Sundara Pāṇḍya I were:

1. Gāṅgēyan or Kandan Udaiyañceydān<sup>42</sup>,
2. Ayyan Maḷavarāyan<sup>43</sup>,
3. Ālavandān Naratoṅgarāyan, ruler of Niyamam<sup>44</sup>,
4. Aḍalaiyūr nāḍālvān<sup>45</sup>,
5. Kōdai Kandan Kuvalaiyattaraiyan<sup>46</sup>,
6. Śīyan Sambandhan, the Adigaimān of Tiruppūvanam<sup>47</sup>,
7. Gurukularājan<sup>48</sup>,
8. Alakapperumāl<sup>49</sup>,
9. Rāman Pallavarājan<sup>50</sup>,
10. Kulaśēkharadēva, the *uttara mantri*<sup>51</sup>,
11. Ariyan Tirunāḍudaiyān,<sup>52</sup>

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39. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No.246.

40. *A.R.Ep.*, 1924, No.99.

41. *Ep. Ind.*, XXV, 1939-49, pp.92 ff.

42. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1935-36, Nos.152, 153, 165, 176 and 186.

43. *Ibid.*, Nos.166 and 176.

44. *Ibid.*, No.154

45. *Ibid.*, No.160

46. *Ibid.*, No.184

47. *Ibid.*, No.183.

48. *Ibid.*

49. *Ibid.* Also *A.R.Ep.*, 1914, No.216; 1916, No.77.

50. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1935-36, No.183.

51. *Ibid.*, No. 176.

52. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1935-36, No.166.

12. Ponnai Uyyavandān or Mānābharāṇa mūvēndavēlān<sup>53</sup>, who set up the image of Kūrrāḍundēvar Uyyaniṇṇāḍu vār (Natarāja) in the temple at Tiruppattūr<sup>54</sup>.

Little is known of the manner of recruitment for the initial appointment to different grades and for promotion to higher ranks. Birth must have conferred certain advantages in the beginning, though the subsequent career depended largely upon character and talent for distinguished service. It is difficult to form a clear idea of the number of administrative departments during the period of our study. Their number and character must have differed from time to time. The inscriptions of the period mention a number of officials associated with the administration of the capital. From these some idea about the departments of government may be gathered.

An important officer referred to in some of the Tamil inscriptions is the *Tiruvāykkēlvi*<sup>55</sup>. The term literally means 'One who hears what comes from the śrīmukha of the king'. The duty of this class of official was to record in writing the oral orders of the king and communicate these to the executive departments concerned. For almost all royal orders this was the first document on which the subsequent order concerning its execution were based. Another official was the *Tirumandira ōlai* (tirumandiram + ōlai) meaning 'an order of the king in council'. The text in the Leiden grant of Rājarāja<sup>56</sup> suggests that the king dictated the order and the *ōlai* took his words down. Although the function of the *tirumandira ōlai* were analogous to those of the *Tiruvāykkēlvi*, the difference was that he took down from the king the order issued after a decision had been taken in consultation with the council and that he was a member of the department called *Tirumandira ōlai nāyakam*, in which there was a number of officials whose duty it was to examine and redraft carefully the orders of the king to prevent any technical flaw in the document and also to see

53. *Ibid.*, No.186, also Part II, para 52.

54. *Ibid.*, Part II, para 52.

55. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916 Nos.347, 356, and 341; also *S.I.I.*, II 1916, pp.125, 276 and 300.

56. *A.S.S.I.*, IV, 1886, pp.208-209, 128-129. 'nām ōlla nām ōlai eḷutum Amutan Tīrtakāran eḷuttināl'.

that orders did not contradict any previous orders made on the same subject<sup>57</sup>.

A very important department of the administration was the *puṟavu vari tiṇaikkālam*, divided into a number of departments presided by various officials. The term *puṟavu* has been interpreted in different ways. It has been suggested by Aiyangar<sup>58</sup> that the term denoted a property consisting of land scattered over various localities but still constituting one individual property. In Pallava epigraphy, the term *puṟavu pon*, occurring in the Vēlūrpālaiyam plates of Nandivarman<sup>59</sup>, is to be understood as the tax in money on cultivable lands paid to the government by the land owner. The other term *uṭpuṟavu Dēvadana* (text line 51) seems to mean *dēvadāna* consisting of all cultivable land which is fit to be taxed. Another Tamil record of Aparājitavarman dated in his fourth year<sup>60</sup> records the gift of the village of Turaiyūr with all incomes consisting of *pon* and *puṟavu* for worship in the Śiva temple at Mātaṅganpaḷḷi by Kādupaṭṭi Pēraraiyan of Cēra nāḍu. Here *puṟavu* is the cultivable land of the village and *pon* is the *iṟai* or tax in money on these lands. The phrase *ponnum puṟavum aḍaṅga* implies the same as the negative phrase *iṟaiyili* in other grants. The old commentator to the *Puṟaṇānūru* equates the term *puṟavu* with *iṟai*<sup>61</sup>. Probably this represent the cess payable on cultivated lands, depending on the extent and nature of cultivation, while the *iṟai* represented the land revenue payable. On the whole Aiyangar's interpretation seems likely. The terms *vari* means tax and *puṟavu vari* may be taken to mean land revenue assessment. It may also denote a revenue accountant, whose duty it apparently was to be in charge of the tax register<sup>62</sup>. *Tiṇaikkālam* may be taken to suggest a department and *puṟavu vari tiṇaikkālam* may be interpreted as the Department of Land Revenue of the king. For the efficient working of the department, it seems to have been divided into ten sections namely

57. 'The tirumukkudal inscription of Virarajendra in *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 1931-32, pp.220-250.

58. S.K.Aiyangar, *Evolution of Hindu Administrative Institutions in South India*, 1931, p.141.

59. *S.I.I.*, II, part V, 1916, p.509, text line 52.

60. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No.31.

61. Edited by U.V. Sāminatha Aiyar, 1923, pp.154, 382, strophes 75 and 260.

62. *Ep. Ind.*, XXI, 1931-32, p.221.



i) *Puṇavu vari tinaikkalam*, ii) *varippottagam*, (section in charge of the tax register), iii) *kaṇkāṇi* (section where the revenue accounts were checked), iv) *Mugaveṭṭi* (one who engraved the orders of the king), v) *terippu* (department of receipts), vi) *turavu śāttu* (department where receipts were issued for payment of revenue), vii) *Paḷaniyāyam* (section dealing with arrears), viii) *variylīḍu* (section dealing with register entries), xi) *varippottaka kaṇakku* (accountant of the tax register) and x) *paṭṭōlai* (the department in which all the orders of the king were filed)<sup>63</sup> However the terms are so obscure that their correct interpretation is conjectural.

The success of any government depends among other things factors on sound finance, for without it no good government is possible. This was well understood by the kings of medieval South India, as in other parts of India and the treasury was counted as one of the seven elements of the state<sup>64</sup>. The revenue system of the Cōlas and Pāṇḍyas while resembling those of the rulers of Northern India in broad outline presents many distinctive features justifying its independent treatment. The material for such a study is scattered in the many thousands of South Indian inscriptions and indigenous literary works. A proper study of the subject is particularly difficult as the terms used in the inscriptions are obscure. There are numerous technical terms such as *kaḍamai*, *kuḍimai*, *āyam*, *antarāyam*, *araṣupēru*, *magamai*, *vari*, *pāṭṭam*, *irai*, *daṇḍam*, *maṇṇu*<sup>65</sup> *Veṭṭimuttāval*, *eccōru*, *kuṇṇariṣi*, *araiṣar vāśal vari*, *peruvari*<sup>66</sup> *karpūravilai*, *kariyavārāṭci*, *puḷliccōru*, *kaṇakkuppēru* and *śilavari*<sup>67</sup>, which have only slight variations in import. Sometimes in one and the same epigraph taxes and obligations are referred to alongside with contributions of a local or social nature, payable for specific purposes. Such multiplicity of taxes

63. *Ibid.*, pp.221, 245. Another department *Vāśal kaṇakku* (section dealing with house taxes) is referred to in another record. *A.R.Ep.*, 1931-32, No.74; T.V.Mahalingam, *South Indian Polity*, 1955, pp.140 ff for an interpretation of some of these terms.

64. *Vāyu Purāṇa* strophes 57, 69, edited by Rajendralala Mitra, I, 1880, p.481. *Cakram rathō maṇiḥ khadgaṇ dhanūratnam ca pañcamam Kētur nidhiṁ ca saptaite /*

65. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No.507. The king is authorised by Manu to take a sixth part of the produce of the soil and of many other yields, including the spiritual merits of his subjects.

66. *Inscr.Pud.state.* 1929, Nos.245 and 277.

67. *Ibid.*, Nos.247, 249, 266, 268 and 305.

recurs throughout the different periods of the history of South India with only slight variations, pointing to the unbroken continuity of the same taxation system.

The different forms of income of the government may be grouped as follows:

1. Land Revenue,
2. Property tax.
3. Poll tax and taxes on arts and crafts,
4. Commercial taxes,
5. Taxes on small industries or trades,
6. Military contributions, and
7. Social and communal taxes and Judicial fines, besides revenue from forests, mines and mint.

The land tax was the main source of revenue of the administrators and the assessment and collection of revenue was one of the chief concerns of the government. The principal feature of the land revenue administration was that only land which was cultivated and which produced a definite yield of crops<sup>68</sup> was assessed after the crops had been inspected and the size of the cultivated area had been determined by a standard measuring rod. During the time of Māra-varman Sundara Pāṇḍya it was the Sundara Pāṇḍyan *Kōl*<sup>69</sup> or *kuḍitāṅgi*<sup>70</sup>, twentyfour spans long. The tax could be paid both in kind and in cash. In the case of wet land, where two crops were raised annually, one in *Paṣāṇ* (September-March)<sup>71</sup> and the other in *Kār* (July-September)<sup>72</sup> the dues were collected in two instalments as and when the crops were harvested<sup>73</sup>. The monetary payments were to cover small dues such as *antarāyam*, *vinīyōgam*, *kāriyavārātei*, *veṭṭipāṭṭam*, *pañcupili*, and *sandhivigraha-pēru*. Two inscriptions from Pericikōyil<sup>74</sup> give detailed information regarding the rate of taxation under Sundara Pāṇḍya

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68. *A.R.Ep.*, 1929-30, No.275.

69. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.448; *Ep.Ind.*, XXIV, 1937-38, p.169.

70. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1936-37, No.174.

71. Long duration of 160 days from the date of sowing to harvest.

72. Short duration ranging in age between 110 and 120 days.

73. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.38.

74. *Ibid.*, 1924, Nos.73 and 91.

I. The possessions of the citizens of Śiruperucciyūr and Kaṇṇāppuṭ (Kaṇḍramānikkam) seem to have so much reduced by circumstances (by severe taxation) that they began to feel that life in the woods would be preferable. An order of Kandan Āḷudaiyān Gāṅgēyan was issued to them fixing the rate of taxation as follows: On each *mā* of land five *kalam* of five *mēni* quality of paddy and 1 1/2 *tiramam*, half this rate in *Arpasi kuṟuvai* (crop raised in the month of *Aṣvina*) and *Šittirai Kuṟuvai* (crop harvested in (*Caitra*)) and one-fourth of the rates on land irrigated by *tulā* (baling out water with baskets) and on land where crops such as *tinai* (*Setaria Italicum*)<sup>75</sup> and *varagu* (*Paspolumscrobiculatum*)<sup>76</sup> and *eḷḷu* (seasamum) and full rate on land where sugar cane was raised. The standard of land measure was altered as the citizens were unable to pay the taxes under the old rates from the fifth regnal year of the king. Whereas formerly one *mā* was made up of eighteen span square, now twenty-four span square were treated as the equivalent of 1/2 *mā* and one *muntirikai*. On cash payment on produce (*antarāyam*), made in *tiramam* coins, the value of the *tiramam* was increased from five *mā* to seven *mā* per *kāṣu* and the standard grain measure was also changed from six *kalam* to seven *kalam* and three *kuṟuṇi*. The rates of taxes on the land continued in the same proportion. Only the actual produce of the land was taxed.

From another inscription from Tirunelvēli<sup>77</sup> dated in the fifth year (A.D.1272-73) of Māṇavarman Kulāṣēkhara it is known that a *mā* of land was the extent of a square field measuring 288 feet in length, which corresponds approximately to one acre and 90 1/3 cents. Incidentally, the measuring rod for land during the period was the *padinettādi kōl*, the rod eighteen feet in length. Another inscription from Vembanur is an interesting example to prove the co-operative and liberal attitude of the people, for the prosperity of the country. The epigraph<sup>78</sup> records that the revenue expected for the sixth and seventh years of the king's reign from Marudūr in Uraṭṭūr kūṟṟam failed as there was nobody to cultivate the fields. To make good the loss to the State, the whole *nāḍu* undertook to bear the burden and the villages, towns and the *nāḍu* of *Kaḍalaḍaiyāda* *Ilaiṅkaikonḍasōḷa* *vaḷanāḍu* agreed among themselves to give Marudūr to two individuals *Madurāntaka* - *brahamarāyan*,

75. *Tamil Lexicon*, III, 1929, p.1934.

76. *Ibid.*, VI, 1934-36, p.3507.

77. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.411.

78. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No.357.

otherwise known as Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa, and Tiruvaraṅga Mālibhaṭṭa for providing offerings to the deity at Vembanūr for the prosperity of the country. This was the simplest and most equitable arrangement that could be arrived at under the circumstances. The state was not a loser as it could get the revenues from the villages and as the deficit was distributed over the whole *nāḍu* consisting of many villages, it could not have been a burden on any particular village.

The *kaḍamai iṟukkum kōl*, the standard measuring rod, is referred to again in another inscription of Māra varman Sundara Pāṇḍya<sup>79</sup>. On each *mā* of land only 1/4 *kāṣu* was levied as monetary payment and the annual assesment of six *kalam* of paddy could not have caused much hardship to the landowner. That three *kalam* of paddy was the prevalent rate of assesment during the period is confirmed by another inscription from Tiruviḍaimarudūr<sup>80</sup> which specifically mentions that five *kalam*, three *kuṟuṇi* of paddy was the assesment on one *mā* and three *kāṇi* of land. Another inscription<sup>81</sup> mentions that for each *vēli* of land the paddy to be given was 60 *kalam*. Since twenty *mā* was equivalent to one *vēli*, this also gives the same rate. It can be inferred that the landowner had no necessity for immediately converting his produce to pay off the land revenue and taxes. An interesting inscription from Śivapuri<sup>82</sup> dated in the fifth year of Kulaśekhara (A.D. 1273) furnishes details regarding the rights of tenants under the tenure of *kuḍiṇiṅgā iṟaiyili* and information about the transactions of the *sabhā* of Nṛpaśekhara caturvēdimāṅgalam. Āryacakravartti had leased certain lands of the Rudrakōṭiśvara temple. The Śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple acted as guarantors for the tenancy (*kuḍippunai*) and the *āṇḍār* acted as sureties for the money payments (*Poruṭ-puṇai*). The village was evacuated as a consequence of a murder of a local brāhmaṇa in the month of *mēṣa* and the dues by the leasee remained unpaid. The *āṇḍār* of the temple had to borrow 350 *paṇam* from the temple of Tiruttāṇḍōnriśvaram uḍaiyār to discharge the dues and, as mortgage for the borrowed money they gave the lands to that temple, marking out the boundaries with *triśūla* stones. After a time, when the original leases returned along with āryacakravartti and asked for an explanation of the transactions, the trustees of the Śivapuri and Dvārapatiśvaram

79. A.R.Ep., 1916, No.338.

80. S.I.I., V, 1925, No.694, text lines 3-5.

81. A.R.Ep., 1907, No.272.

82. A.R.Ep., 1928-29, No.21.



temples enquired into the whole affair and, after receiving the money due from the defaulters, returned the land to them as *kuḍiniṅgā iraiyili* with the stipulation that except for the *rājakaram* (tax) of one *kalam* and one *tūṇi* of paddy per *mā* of cultivated land, the balance of taxes should be paid to the Śivapuri temple for its expenses. From this it is clear that the tenants enjoying tax-free land as *kuḍiniṅgā iraiyili* were reinstated in their holdings in spite of the serious fact of their flight from the place, leaving the land uncultivated and the dues thereon unpaid, if they agreed to discharge fully the liabilities arising from their absence and neglect.

At Kurṟālam, eight *mā* of land including the tax dues were valued at 43 *kāṣu* in the fourth year (A.D. 1015-16) of Rājendra I<sup>83</sup>. In the twelfth century, during the period of Rājarāja III, five *vēli* three *mā* and one and a half *kāṇi*, one *muntiri*, the *kīl* of four *mā* of land were sold for 20,700 *kāṣu*<sup>84</sup>. And two *Vēli*, eight and a half *mā*, 1/2 *kāṇi*, the *kīl* of two *mā* of land for 10,000 *Kāṣu*<sup>85</sup>. An inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya from Cōlapuram<sup>86</sup> contains interesting details regarding the sale of land which was communally owned (*podunilam*) by the *sabhā* of Śrīvallabha caturvēdimāṅgalam to the executive officers (*dēvarkanmi*) of the temple at koṭṭār and refers to the conditions for the payment of taxes as *irai* and *kārāṇmai*. The Tiruvāliśvaram inscription of Sundara Cōla - Pāṇḍya<sup>87</sup> dated in his seventeenth year is a very important historical document which gives abundant details and adequate information regarding land revenue administration and officials. It refers to a gift of five *vēli* of land which were purchased from the *sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam to conduct festivals, to feed twenty-five brāhmaṇas and to recite the *Śivadharma*<sup>88</sup>. The taxes on the land included paddy to be given by the cultivator (*veḷḷān*) as owner's share and money by *uruvu kōl nilāṅkāṣu* and *kāḱṣi erudu kāṣu*, possibly as fees for surveying the land and for the supply of manure. The five *vēli* of land were converted into *veḷḷān vagai* and were subject to the

83. A.R.Ep., 1926, No.104.

84. Ibid., 1917, No.246.

85. Ibid., No.247.

86. Trav.Arch.Ser. V, 1926, No.8, pp.11-13.

87. A.R.Ep., 1916, No.332.

88. Śivadharma, a secondary *Purāṇa*, one of the eighteen *upapurāṇas*. Śivadharmōttara is an *āgama* on Śaiva *dharma* translated from Sanskrit into Tamil verse by Maraijñānasambandhar.

payment of land tax (*iṟai kaḍan*) namely paddy to the amount of 642 *kalam* and five *nāli*, besides a monetary payment of 43 *kāṣu*. Another inscription from Śermādēvi<sup>89</sup> of the same king is supplementay to this inscription and refers to similar items of income under the heads of *alagerudu kākṣi kāṣu*, *kākṣi erudu kāṣu* and *ūr kaḷaṇṇu*. The order sanctioning the transfer of land from the *brahmadēya* register to the *dēvadāna* register, as recorded in the Tiruvāliśvaram inscription was issued after the document was signed by twenty-two officers of the king.

During the reign of Rājendra I, the *vellān vagai* villages fell into two broad classes, one directly remitting the variable annual revenue to the state and another paying dues of a more or less fixed or standardised character to religious institutions such as temples, to which they were assigned. It is difficult to determine which of these was more advantageous to the cultivator.

Collections of money from the public for specific purposes by subscription was prevalent during the period. An inscription of Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya dated in his twenty-ninth year<sup>90</sup> refers to the *sabhā* of Kalikkudi authorising Accan Mārṇili a merchant of Kumari (Cape Comorin), to collect subscriptions at their instance in order to meet the expense of food offerings in the temple of Rājarājēśvara and for repairing the breaches in the irrigation tank called *kōnāṇḍārkuḷam*. Another record from Sucīndram merits attention for the details it gives regarding monetary transactions in the sale of land by the *sabhā* of Sundaracōla caturvēdimāṅgalam<sup>91</sup>.

The first systematic survey of the cultivable lands in the Cōla empire for purpose of assessment was undertaken in A.D.1002 in the reign of Rājarāja I and the errors that crept into the registers were rectified two years later by a fresh survey under the supervision of kuravan Rājarāja maharājan, who had the titles *Ulagalandān* and *Tiruvadigal śāttan*<sup>92</sup>. The largest revenue unit was the *vēli*, which was divided into smaller units like the *mā*, *kuḷi*, *kāṇi*, *mukkāṇi*, *araikkāṇi* and *muntirikai*. From the inscriptions of the Br̥hadīśvara temple at

89. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.619.

90. *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, I, 1910-13, pp.249-250.

91. *Ibid.*, IV, 1924, pp.132-33.

92. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.223; *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No.199; *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1934, No.50.

Tanjore it is learnt that land as small in extent as  $1/1600$  of a *vēli* was measured for assessment<sup>93</sup>. The smallest denomination used in the Tanjore inscriptions is  $1/320$  and the smallest fraction that appears is  $1/320$ .  $1/640$  is, however, expressed as  $1/320$  of a  $1/2$ . This fraction is possible in a system based upon eighths. The other smaller fraction used is  $1/160$ , i.e. twice  $1/320$ . There is no attempt to explain  $2/1/320$ . The reason for choosing  $1/320$  seems to be connected with a reckoning of eight. To express  $1/1600$ , they use  $1/320$  of  $4/20$ ; and for expressing  $3/1280$ ,  $1/320$  of  $1/4$  is used, all in multiples of  $1/320$ . The denomination 20 is used to express  $1/5$  ( $=4/20$ ),  $1/20$ ,  $1/40$ ,  $1/160$  and  $1/320$ . In the case of odd fractions such as  $3/20$  which could not be expressed in the octaval system, the other system was used. All these show the minute accuracy of these surveys.

A new survey was made in the time of Kulōttuṅga I in A.D. 1086 for unknown reasons. Again towards the close of the reign of Vikrama Cōla (A.D.1134), a fresh survey was carried out in certain parts of the Cōla empire. Once again, in A.D. 1216, yet another survey was made towards the end of the reign of Kulōttuṅga III. The reasons and the nature of these repeated surveys are not known.

In ancient and medieval South India, a property tax seems to have been levied on the whole property irrespective of the income which it yielded. Among the properties taxed were houses, house sites, treasure troves, springs, cattle and carts<sup>94</sup>. Unoccupied houses were exempt from taxation<sup>95</sup>. The rates of taxation, however, varied from time to time.

The self governing village or *caturvēdimangalam* was the unit of the provincial administrative system of the Cōlas and the Pāṇḍyas. A number of these constituted a *nāḍu*. A large-sized village was known as *taniyūr*, comparable with the boroughs of medieval England. A number of *nāḍus* constituted a *vaḷanāḍu*. Above the *vaḷanāḍu* was the *maṇḍalam*. The subordinate divisions underwent changes and were regrouped whenever necessary and proved convenient for efficient administration. Some of the territorial divisions frequently referred to in the inscriptions are Rājarāja *caturvēdimangalam*, Muḷli

93. S.I.I., II, 1916, pp.42-68.

94. A.R.Ep., 1913, No.272; 1919, No.585; 1918, No.91; 1921, Nos.335 and 203; Ep.Ind., VIII, 1905-06 p.304 and A.R.Ep., 1916, No.373.

95. A.R.Ep., 1914, No.59.

nādu, Purattāyanādu, Mudikonḍasōla vaḷanādu, Uttamaśōla vaḷanādu and Rājarāja-ppāṇḍinnādu. The caturvēdimāṅgalam was a distinct unit with a single class of interest. The villages of Vāgaikkudi, Muttūranārattai, Śirukilān kāṭṭur and Mīlakānūr were included in Rājagambhīra-caturvēdimāṅgalam<sup>96</sup>. The Tiruttāṅgal inscription of Kulaśēkhara dated in his ninth year and 216th day<sup>97</sup> registers an order to create a *brahmadēya* village called Kulaśēkhara caturvēdimāṅgalam by grouping together four *dēvadāna* villages around Tiruttāṅgal with the land and house sites allotted to 54 brāhmaṇas who were well versed in the Vedas and Śāstras and capable of expounding them. The village site where the brāhmaṇas were to reside was named Pukaḷ lōkagaṇḍanallūr. Yet another epigraph of Sundara Pāṇḍya II dated in his eighth year and 215th day<sup>98</sup> refers to the fact that the great grandfather of Śrīrāman Aḷakan or Aḷakiyapāṇḍya brahmādhirājan had originally established, in the name of Vēṇādu uḍaiyar, a village called Ravivarma caturvēdimāṅgalam and settled in it 48 brāhmaṇas (caturvēdi bhaṭṭas) who were exponents of the Vedas and Śāstras (*vyākhyātākkaḷāy irukkum*) and twelve bhaṭṭas who had to recite the Vedas in the temple of Tirunelvēli. On a representation from these sixty and recommendation of Maḷavarāyan, one of the king's officers, the king granted all the lands in Kaṇṇanūr or Mānābharaṇappādi, within its specified boundaries and excluding certain old *dēvadāna* and *paḷḷiccandam* lands, to be included in Ravivrama caturvēdimāṅgalam, in order that the sixty persons settled in the village might get sixty shares, while to the temple of Śrīrāma were attributed two shares, to the Pāṇḍimādēviśvaram two shares and to Toṇḍaimān viṇṇagar<sup>99</sup> ālvār, one share. It is specifically stated that the previous owners of the land as well as categories of the tenancy rights had been removed so that the whole would constitute one village with one *puravu* and one type of tenure. It is to be noted that the caturvēdimāṅgalam was entirely a brahmanic village.

The constitution and formation of another caturvēdimāṅgalam called the Vikrama pāṇḍya caturvēdimāṅgalam is reflected in another record of Jaṭavarman Sundara pāṇḍya I. It concerns the settlement of 108 brāhmaṇas. For the residential accomodation of these brāhmaṇas

96. *Ep.Ind.*, XXV, 1939-40, p.111, text lines 71-72.

97. *A.R.Ep.*, 1922, No.543.

98. *S.I.I.*, V, 1925, No.446.

99. for *viṣṇugṛha*.



and their families, as well as the staff in charge of the village library, four *vēli* of land were purchased and set apart as a village site, including the temple premises. Land for grazing the cattle was set apart. The following other allocations were made:

1.  $147 \frac{3}{4}$  *vēli* in Rājakēsarinnallūr were acquired to maintain the 108 brāhmaṇas and their families:
2. Three *vṛtti* for teachers of the Vēdas:
3. One *Vṛtti* for a teacher of the Sūtras:
4.  $1 \frac{1}{4}$  *vṛtti* for two doctors:
5. One  $\frac{1}{2}$  for the *ambādiyar*:
6. One  $\frac{1}{2}$  for the village accountant:
7. One  $\frac{1}{4}$  for a drummer:
8. One and three eighths for a barber:
9. One  $\frac{1}{4}$  for a washerman:
10.  $\frac{3}{4}$  for the village watchman:
11. One eighth for the *veṭṭiyān* : and
12.  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the *nattam* land outside the village brāhmaṇa quarter for the *vellān kāṇiyālar* (cultivating tenants) and the rest for others.

All the taxes were remitted and it was stipulated that from the 14th year of the king's reign, i.e., from the first year of the constitution of the caturvēdimaṅgalam, 500 *kalam* of first-class paddy had to be measured out to the temple at Cidambaram every year<sup>100</sup>. The contents of these inscriptions clearly show that the caturvēdimaṅgalam consisted of brāhmaṇas only, self-sufficient in every way, while other classes of people were given separate accomodation in the *nattam* land to perform specific duties. Therefore the caturvēdimaṅgalam denoted a limited unit having a fixed extent of land, great or small, which had been completely bought up with all rights and with old names, previous holdings and the different heads of classification entirely removed and vested and owned by one class as a unit.

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100. A.R.Ep., 1913, No.277; 1914, part II, p.92. For the economy of the Cidambaram temple see V.G. Ramakṛṣṇa Aiyer, *The Economy of a South Indian Temple*, 1946, pp.19 ff

Reference may be made to a royal order of Rājādhirāja I<sup>101</sup> addressed to the officer Śōlapāṇḍya-mūvēndavēlār to the effect that from the interest to be given in paddy by the *brāhmaṇa ūrkaḷ* (villages) on sums received by them on loan from the treasury of the temple at Kāñcīpuram for provision for two Śivabrāhmaṇas performing the duties of *paricāraka*, the arrangements be made by the person in charge of the temple affairs (*kōvil ārikāryam*). In the order that was issued the *sabhās* of Śirukaccipēḍu (Kāñcīpuram), Utamaśōla caturvēdimāṅgalam, Parāntaka caturvēdimāṅgalam, Miḷalai māṅgalam and Aparājita caturvēdimāṅgalam are referred to, showing thereby that the *sabhā* was the governing body in the caturvēdimāṅgalam. The class of village with names ending in caturvēdimāṅgalam consisted exclusively of *brāhmaṇa* landowners who formed the administrative council called the *sabhā*. From the names preserved in inscriptions it may be observed that there was quite a number of Vedic scholars during the seventh to the thirteenth centuries A.D. in different parts of South India<sup>102</sup>.

In the case of the Vikrama Pāṇḍya caturvēdimāṅgalam already cited the number of the donees was 108 while the actual portions made was 147: in the list of the donees, we find more *caturvēdins* than *trivēdins* or *śaḍaṅgavid*. In these villages there either were temples or, at least their construction was envisaged for use by the donees. The provision of *vṛttis* for doctors, police and library in the constitution of the village was meant to meet the requirements of education, maintainance of order and health. The foundation of numerous caturvēdimāṅgalam and the grant of *agrahāras* by successive generation of kings of various dynasties of South India, the grants of which have not all come to light certainly indicate the enormous importance of Vedic studies, from the beginning of the sixth to the end of the thirteenth century, almost to the time of Sāyaṇa, the most famous commentator on all the Vēdas.

The Tirunelvēli inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya II<sup>103</sup> registers the grant of a *brahmadēya* to 224 *caturvēdi bhaṭṭas* well-versed in the Vēdas and Śāstras. The village Kūḍalūr in Muṛappu nāḍu was

101. S.I.I., VIII, 1937, No.3; For the constitution of another caturvēdimāṅgalam for 224 bhaṭṭas see *Ep.Ind.*, XXIV 1937-38, pp 153-172.

102. A list of these is given in S.I.I., XII, 1943, and XIII, 1953, also *Ep.Ind.*, XXV, 1939-40, p.75.

103. S.I.I., V, 1925, No.448: *Ep.Ind.*, XXIV, 1937-38, pp.154-172.

assigned to them and was renamed as Pōsaḷa<sup>104</sup>. Vīrasōmadēva caturvēdimāṅgalaṁ after the king's uncle Virasōmēśvara<sup>105</sup>. When the new village was constituted, the donees, it is stated in the inscription, desired that the previous owners of the lands, the old names of the villages and their land, their cultivating tenants and the head of classification should be removed and that all these lands being divided into the required number of shares with the right to build houses in the nattam land fit for residence and that the new village should be granted as a *brahmadēya*. The execution of this procedure involved great effort. The removal of the previous owners must have implied providing them with other sites or awarding them compensation after ascertaining the correct extent of their lands and their yields. The division of the land into equal shares and the entry of the change of classification of tenure in the departmental and village registers must have also taken considerable time.

The ancient name of the village of Tiruvālīśvaram was Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalaṁ, which was a *brahmadēya* in Muḷḷi nāḍu, a district of Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu which again was a division of Rājarājappāṇḍi nāḍu. A number of villages appear to have been included in Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalaṁ during the time of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍyas. The modern villages of Ambāsamudram and Kallidaikuricci were its southern hamlets, while Pāppāṅkuḷam and Vēḷārkuṛicci were its northern hamlets. Ālvārkuṛicci, eight miles from Ambāsamudram formed its north-western hamlet. Four other villages are mentioned as being within the division in the Mannārkōyil inscription of Sundara Cōḷa-Pandya<sup>106</sup>. The district of Muḷḷi nāḍu in which Śermādēvi was situated belonged to the division of Uttamaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu, while Tiruvālīśvaram was a subdivision of Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷa-vaḷanāḍu. Though the names Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷa and Uttamaśōḷa<sup>107</sup> after which the two subdivisions were named, refer to Rājendra I, yet there is no doubt that they represent different area as the two names are found in inscriptions of the same period. The villages of Tirunelveli Kaḷugumalai, Ambāsamudram and the villages near them were originally included in Muḍikoṇḍaśōḷa vaḷanāḍu, Kanyākumārī, Śermādēvi, Cōḷapuram and Nāgerkōyil were

104. Attention should be drawn to the use of *pōsaḷa* for *hoysala*.

105. K.R. Venkataraman, *The Hoysalas in the Tamil Country*, 1950, pp.15-24.

106. *Ep.Ind.*, XI, 1911-12, pp.292-298.

107. K.A. Nilakanta Sastri, *The Colas*<sup>2</sup>, 1955, pp.227, 261.

included in Uttamaśōla vaḷanāḍu, Rājarāja ppāṇḍināḍu was the name applied to the Pāṇḍya country after its conquest by Rājarāja I. It consisted of the *vaḷanāḍus* of Madurai, Tirunelveli and parts of Kērala and Pudukkōṭṭai. Though the Pāṇḍyas had been defeated several times on previous occasions and their dominions acquired by the Cōlas, the name of their country does not appear to have been altered before the time of Rājarāja I.

The Tiruvāliśvaram pillar inscription of the eleventh century A.D. is unique in that it outlines the military history of the Cōla regiment called the *mūṇṇukai mahāsēnai*<sup>108</sup>. It refers to the victories gained by this regiment and records that the temple of Tiruvāliśvaram, its treasury and temple servants were placed under its protection<sup>109</sup>. The reference to a poet of Kālahasti singing the glory of this regiment is interesting. The identity of the poet is uncertain. He may probably be identical with Kālamēghappulavar, who was born in Tirupati, about 15 miles from Kālahasti and who is known to have become a Śaiva after his marriage with Mōhanāṅgi at Jambukesvaram and who lived in the later half of the eleventh century A.D.<sup>110</sup>. But no literary work glorifying these achievements of the regiment has been brought to light so far.

The Polonnaruva inscription of Vijayabāhu<sup>111</sup> refers to the three divisions of Vēlaikkārar namely mahātantrar<sup>112</sup>, vaḷanjiyar and nagarattār. The subdivisions into which these were further divided were the *vaḷaṅgai*, *iḍaṅgai*, *piḷḷaikāl*, *tanam*, *vadugar*, *malayāḷar* and *parivāra koṇḍam* (troupe from the retinue of the king) suggesting the sources for enlistment in the king's army. The origin of the *vaḷaṅgai* and *iḍaṅgai* is not clear. Legend ascribes it to the design of Karikāla and also to a famous occasion when two sections of the populations laid their disputes before a Cōla king, one party standing to the right hand side of the monarch and the other to the left<sup>113</sup>. The

108. *A.R.Ep.*, 1905, No.120.

109. See above. pp.51-53.

110. *Tirumalai śrī Veṅkaṭeśvara*, I, 1937, pp.71 ff.

111. *Ep. Ind.*, XVIII, 1925-26, pp. 330-338.

112. The *kāraṇavar* of the *tantra* headed by the chief military officers (*sēnāpati daṇḍanāyakattu*) in the imperial service (*śeṅgōl vēlai-kkarar*) of Devēndravallabha figure as donors in a record of Sundara Pāṇḍya I. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.398; *S.I.T.I.*, II, 1954, No.816.

113. *A.R.Ep.*, 1921, part II, para 47.



Vēlaikkāra regiment again is said to have taken over and protected the temple of the Tooth Relic and its establishment and renamed the temple *Mūṇṇukai-tiruvēlaikkāran daladāy perumpallī*. Two other inscriptions from Ceylon also refer to the *mūṇṇukai* regiment<sup>114</sup>. Wijesinha's suggestion<sup>115</sup> that they were mercenaries employed by the Sinhalese in the eleventh century is untenable as there is sufficient evidence to show that they belonged to the regular standing army of the Cōlas. The epithet *tiru* applied to the vēlaikkāra regiment, the renaming and subsequent protection of the temple of Tooth Relic are some reasons for maintaining that the vēlaikkāras formed part of the Cōla standing army<sup>116</sup>. Another Tamil inscription from Dangur in Mysore dated in the reign of Rājādhirāja (A.D. 1050) refers to the *valaṅgai vēlaikkārar* and *nānādēṣi*<sup>117</sup>. Other groups of the army frequently mentioned in the inscriptions of the period are the *Sundara ḷōḷatterindra vēḷār*<sup>118</sup>, *Tēṇṇavan Āpattutavikaḷ* (helpers of the Pāṇḍya king in times of distress), *Paḍaikāvalar* and *Perumpadaiyar*<sup>119</sup>. We do not get any details of the methods of recruitment or the numbers of the troops in the army. Under Rājārāja I it seems to have been divided into thirty-one regiments, as is borne out by his inscription on one of the walls of the Brhadiśvara temple at Tanjore<sup>120</sup>. The commander of the local garrison at Sucindram named Tiruveṅkata etti is referred to as a *paḍaittalaivan* (head of the troops) in an inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya<sup>121</sup>. The Tiruvāliśvaram inscription<sup>122</sup> of the same king dated in his 21st regnal year (A.D. 1054) refers to another *paḍaittalaivan* named Nāṣakan Kūlvānai, who seems to have served under Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya as well<sup>123</sup>. The brāhmanas who distinguished themselves in war in the Cōla and Pāṇḍya periods were given the title of *brahmādhirājar*. It may be noted that many army lead-

114. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, Nos. 610 and 612.

115. *Mahāvamsa*, translated from the Original Pali into English for the Government of Ceylon, 1909, chapter IX, pp.91, 102 and 170.

116. Geiger, W., *Cūlavamsa*, Part I, translation, 1929, p.217.

117. *Mys. Arch.Rep.*, 1920, p.31.

118. *A.R.Ep.*, 1930, No.395.

119. *Ibid.*, 1917, Nos.39, 395, 433 and 532.

120. *S.I.I.*, II, 1916, Introduction p. 9.

121. *Trav. Arch.Ser.* IV, 1924, pp.134-135.

122. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.330

123. *Ibid.*, No.328.

ers were brāhmaṇas. Parākrama Nārayaṇa brahmādhirāja was the *daṇḍanāyakam* officer of Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya<sup>124</sup>. Another *Sēnāpati* of Uḍaiyār Cōla-Pāṇḍya was Śaṅkaran of Uttamaśōlanallur<sup>125</sup>. The mention of *Vīrakāvalar kōṭṭai* (fort) in an inscription from Tiruvāliśvaram issued by Sundara Pāṇḍya I in A.D. 1220 is significant<sup>126</sup>. It was fortification used as a defence for guarding the town and temple of Tiruvāliśvaram. *Rājarāja-erivīra-paṭṭanam* was the name given to the military quarter of Tiruvāliśvaram according to some of the inscriptions<sup>127</sup>. *Erivīra-paṭṭanam* was probably a fortified mart with a regiment. An inscription of Rājādhirāja from Basinikoṇḍa dated in his 32nd regnal year suggests this interpretation, while it refers to these conversion of the village of Śiruvalli into a *nānād ēśiya daśamuḍi erivīra-paṭṭanam*<sup>128</sup>. It registers that 1500 merchants of the four quarters including the *nāḍu*, *nagara*, and *nānādēśi* met at Śiruvalli and resolved to convert the village into an *erivīra-paṭṭanam* and grant certain privileges to the residents. The Karsanapalle inscriptions<sup>129</sup> refers to Muttkūru as an *erivīra-paṭṭanam* and records that the revenue realised from the taxes on oil mills was granted to the temple of Aṅgakāra īśvaramuḍaiyār by the officer Śōlakulakarapa Mūvēndavēḷān in order to 'secure strength to arms of the emperor'. This surely indicates that *erivīra-paṭṭanam* was some kind of a military cantonment.

Several other military institutions in the Pāṇḍya country are referred to in the inscriptions of the period. A class of men called *munai-edir mōgar* whose commanders (*daṇḍanāyakam śeyvār*) made gifts to two temples in Kīlappa ḷuvūr in Tirunelveli district, are referred to in inscriptions of Sundara Pāṇḍya I<sup>130</sup>. The term *daṇḍanāyakam* suggests that they may be a military body and this is made clear in another record of Vikrama Pāṇḍya in which the name *Tenṇavan Āpatt-udavigal* is given to them<sup>131</sup>. This body is also referred to in inscriptions of

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124. *Ibid.*, No. 627

125. *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, IV, 1924, pp.132-133.

126. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.348.

127. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos.360, 365 and 371.

128. *Ibid.*, 1912, No.342.

129. *Ibid.*, No.321.

130. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, Nos. 390 and 394.

131. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, No.395.

Kulaśekhara<sup>132</sup> and Śrīvallabha<sup>133</sup> all from Kīlappaluvūr. This military institution was similar to the community called *paḍaikkāṇavar* and *Porumpāḍaiyar*<sup>134</sup>. Śōlan kunṇan of the 'iraṇasiṅga vīratterinda villigal' a company of bowmen or archers of the battalion stationed at Naralōkavīranallūr is mentioned in the Naṅgunēri inscription of Śrīvallabha dated in his fourteenth year<sup>135</sup>. The *perumpāḍaiyar* and *valaṅgai-māsēnaiyār* were contingents of the Pāṇḍya army stationed at Peruṅguḷam during the period of Sundara Pāṇḍya I. The *perumpāḍaiyar* appear to have had the same corporate existence and status of a *sabhā* and was composed of representatives from several regiments or battalions of the army. Eight representatives of this group are referred to in one of the inscriptions<sup>136</sup>.

The military accountant (*paḍaikāṇakkan*) was the scribe of another inscription<sup>137</sup>. A military cantonment called *Ārāycci nāyakam murpōr paḍu valavam- ulliṭṭa perumpadaī* figures prominently in inscription from Peruṅguḷam<sup>138</sup>. The board seems to have been invested with powers to sell and acquire land, as recorded in another epigraph<sup>139</sup> where private persons are said to have purchased land from the body called *murpēr paḍaiyār*. The *māḍi-chēvagar* or rampart guards of the time of Saḍaiyamāran (tenth century A.D.) in the Pāṇḍya country are referred to in an inscription from Ukkirankōṭṭai<sup>140</sup>. Tenṇavan Pallavadarayan was a *mahānāyaka* of Kalakkuḍi under the king and is stated to have erected an *ambalam* called *nagarattān* for the use of the citizens., (*nagarattar*) settled by him in Rājasimha *pēraṅgāḍi*, a bazar, probably named after Rājasimha, which was newly constituted by him in front of the palace. He further made endowments for the upkeep of the *ambalam* and its lighting by presenting a series of chain lamps (*tudar viḷakku*). The sheep required for the lamp were left with

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132. *Ibid.*, No.391.

133. *Ibid.*, No.396.

134. *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, p.112.

135. *A.R.Ep.*, 1927-28, No.265. For a discussion of *Senāmukattar* in the Tamil inscriptions of Siam see *J.R.A.S.*, 1913, pp.337-339.

136. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1932-33, No.232, text in p.68.

137. *Ibid.*, No.242.

138. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1932-33, No.229.

139. *Ibid.*, No.241.

140. *Ibid.*, 1935-36, No.19.

Nakkan Munnūrruvan and Venravāypōṣi, who were both connected with the army stationed there.

The *nānādēṣi-ttiṣai āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar*, a very old administrative and traditional organisation of Rājendra cōla-maṇḍalam, acting as a check on royal absolutism, is referred to in an inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya from Ambāsamudram<sup>141</sup>. The interpretation of the term *nānādēṣi-ttiṣai-Ayirattainnūṟṟuvar* has hitherto been unsatisfactory. K.A.Nilakanta Sastri<sup>142</sup> has interpreted it as a body of 500 instead of 1500. The body of 1500 is a distinct and different organisation from that of 500 mentioned in the inscription from Lubuk Tua in Sumatra dated Śaka 1010 (A.D. 1088) in the reign of Kulōttuṅga I<sup>143</sup>. The inscription cited by Sastri in support of his conjecture refers only to the body of 1500 : *nāṅku tiṣaiyāyirattaiññūṟṟuva perunāḍu*<sup>144</sup>. An inscription dated Śaka 888 (A.D.966) mentions Iṣvara Piccan of *āyirattaiññūṟṟuva-nagara*, who made a payment in gold as a contribution towards removing the encumbrances of a lake called Paramaṇḍalāditya-ppērēri, excavated by Ānaiyamman, the son of the Lāda chief Taṭṭālan<sup>145</sup>. Another record from Pirānmalai<sup>146</sup> gives a detailed account of the *āyirattaiññūṟṟuvar*. They claim to be the children of Vasudeva and Mulabhadra and to have worshipped the Goddess Bhagavatī or Aimpolil Paramēṣvari also referred to as Kandali or the Supreme One according to the *Tolkāppiyam*. It should be noted that the text of the record does not contain the term *nānādēṣi*<sup>147</sup>. The *nānādēṣi*, however, figure in an inscription of queen Līlāvati from Ceylon (A.D.1197-1200)<sup>148</sup> as the builders of a *māṣisa*<sup>149</sup>, for the supply of spices in the neighbourhood of the alms house (*dānaśālā*). The *vaṇig-gaṇas*, the followers of Trapussaka and Valhuka, who built

141. *A.R.Ep.*, 1907, No.82.

142. *TiJdschr.Bat.Gen.* LXXII, 1932, pp.314-327.

143. *Ibid.*, LXXIV, 1934, pp.614-618.

144. *A.R.Ep.*, 1912, No.342.

145. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1940-41, No.13.

146. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.442. The presence of similar merchant guilds and their acquisition of important trading concessions during the reign of Kīrtti Nissankamalla in Ceylon is confirmed by the Analundava slab inscription. *Ep.Zeyl.*, II, 1928, pp.235-238 and plate.

147. *J.I.H.*, XXV, 1947, pp.276-77.

148. *Ep.Zeyl.*, I, 1912, p.180 and plate; text, line 19.

149. *Ibid.*, text, line 20. The real meaning of the term is not clear.



the Girikkāṇḍi *caitya* mentioned in the Triyāy rock inscription<sup>150</sup> of the seventh-eighth century A.D. seem to have been the predecessors of the *nānādēśi* groups of merchants in Ceylon. Again the Vaiṣṇava temple at Pagan in Burma was built by *nānādēśis* and consisted of Vaiṣṇavas of various countries established there<sup>151</sup>. The Basinikoṇḍa epigraph of Rājādhirāja already cited clearly mentions that the special congregation of the body of merchants consisted of 1500 representatives of all *samayas* (religious denominations) coming from the four and eight quarters and also their followers, among whom were the *ervīras*, *munaivīras*, *ilañjigavīras*, *koṅgalavas* and various other sects such as the *valaṅgai* and *kaikkōlar*. The Daḷapatisamudram inscription of Mārañjadaiyan dated in the sixth opposite the thirty-fifth year (i.e. the 41st year)<sup>152</sup> refers to the provision made by Vēḷān śāttan for lighting lamps and for the maintenance of employees in two water-sheds, one called *Rājākkaḷ taṇṇīr perumpandal* in the name of the Rāja of Koṭṭār and the other called *Munṇūrru perumpandal*, probably named after the assembly of the locality consisting of three hundred members. The opening of water-sheds at convenient intervals along important highways was a popular form of benefaction. The identity of Mārañjadaiyan is to be established by future research and discovery of fresh evidence from the epigraphic side. A *madhyastha* of the village of Nandivarma-maṅgalam under Parāntaka I was named Nālāyirattimunnūrruvan also known as Candrasēkhara Aramayindan in an inscription from Kumaravayalūr<sup>153</sup>. He was probably a member of the institution called the *Nālāyiratti-munnūrruvar* (4300).

It should be noted that these merchant guilds in medieval South India were free from ideas of monopolies backed up by the state and by a powerful fleet. This was both their glory and the cause of their decline. The merchants had freedom of initiative and were capable of voluntary organisation. Though the state encouraged the merchants to engage in foreign trade, it did not give them the strong backing as the case with the trading companies of the west in a later period.

150. *Ep.Zeyl.*, IV, 1943, pp.197-198.

151. *Ep.Ind.*, VII, 1902-1903, pp.197-198.

152. *A.R.Ep.*, 1928-29, No.12; *A.R.Ind.Ep.*, 1958-59, No.282.

153. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1936-37, No.149. An *ainnūrruvan maṇḍapa* was built by Perumāl Viṭankan, a merchant in the reign of Rājaraṇa I. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1936-37, No.138.

Neither the merchant nor the state had any idea of the possibilities of economic imperialism, backed by the grant of monopolies.

One of the subjects that attracts attention in the course of a study of inscriptions is the Ancient South Indian temple with its corporate life and polity. It was a powerful social and economic centre besides being a place of religious worship. In addition, it stimulated intellectual and artistic activities. What immediately interests us in this survey are the principles of temple management and administration, as reflected in the contemporary inscriptions of the period. By its origin and nature the temple was a corporation founded with the full co-operation of the local population and enjoying a very large and devoted patronage of the ruling king and subordinates. It was the only institution common to both the ruler and the ruled, enjoying the fullest advantages of their co-operation. Royal patronage took many forms among which the most common was that of granting villages or their revenues to the benefit of the temple, or to provide opportunities for the teaching and recitation of the Vedas, the *Tirujñāna* and *Śivadharmā* as also for the provision of music and fine arts. The centre of Indian artistic life in the past was the temple.

Generally every temple was managed by a committee of trustees, the *sthānattār*. In the time of Rājārāja, a committee of eight members called the *maṇṇāḍi vāriyam*, to which the work of inspecting the produce of temple land and conducting festivals with the income from the *mēlvāram* received from the tenants was assigned<sup>154</sup>. In cases where there was no particular committee for this purpose, the village assembly or *sabhā* acted as the trustees for the charities connected with the temple. These were not as rule, in the hands of a few managers. There were cases in which money intended for certain specific purposes in the temple were left in the custody of Śivabrāhmaṇas or Vaikhānasas. The temple officials mentioned in the Peruṅguḷam Inscription of Śaḍaiyamāran included the following bodies:

1. Śaṭṭapperumakkaḷ (legal advisers);
2. Aganāḷigaiyār (those whose duties were inside the *garbhagrha*);
3. Paḍiyar;
4. Pancācāriyar (the five *ācāryas*); and
5. Uvaccar (drummers).

154. A.R.Ep., 1923, No.60; part II, para 30.

Palaeographically the record may be assigned to the tenth century A.D., and the king may be identified with Rājasimha III<sup>155</sup>.

Just as the temple was administrated by its own committee or by the *sabhā*, the central shrine (*garbhagrha*) was occasionally administered by a committee which would at times borrow money to discharge certain obligations to the temple including the donations made collectively to the temple on its behalf, and take up other responsibilities. Similarly the temple treasury (*bhaṇḍāra*) was sometimes a committee. The committee was not merely a receiving and disbursing body. It possessed administrative powers to sell temple land on suitable occasions. The surplus funds in the temple treasury were in some cases utilised for special purposes either with the consent of or at the suggestion of the *sabhā*. The temple bought and sold land in the same way as any property owner and kept strict accounts of its assets and liabilities. There were a few cases of embezzlement and enquiry by Royal commission in Cōla and Pāṇḍya times and even later. The brāhmaṇas, while held in great reverence for their knowledge and detachment were certainly not exonerated when they erred<sup>156</sup>. Even the *sabhā* seems to have been punished for wrongs as is evidenced by the statement 'sabhayōrai daṇḍiccu' in an inscription from Naṅgavaram<sup>157</sup>. The Sucīndram inscription dated in Kollam era 404 (A.D. 1228) refers to the re-organisation of the temple into eight divisions and stipulates the conditions of service of the members of these divisions<sup>158</sup>. An examination and close study of the text of the inscription, which is unpublished, would throw considerable light on the administration of the temple. The *eṭṭupaṅkil* śivabrāhmaṇas (śivabrāhmaṇas of the eight division) constituted the important administrative body of the Tiruvāliśvaram temple as is evidenced by the numerous inscriptions<sup>159</sup> referring to

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155. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1932-33, Nos.216,219,220,227 and 228. Peruṅguḷam, eight miles from Koṟkai is one of the eighteen sacred places in the Pāṇḍya country and is also known as Tirukkuḷandai. *Ep.Ind.*, XXI, 1931-32, p.108.

156. *A.R.Ep.*, 1921-22, Nos.218 and 219 of the time of Rājarāja I.

157. *S.I.I.*, VIII, 1937, No.652.

158. *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1958-59, p.67 No.27.

159. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos.339, 359, 361 and 367.

them, besides the *dēvarkanmi*, *ḍrīmāhēśvara-kaṇkāṇi*, *śrīkāryam*<sup>160</sup>, *ālum gaṇattār* and *mahāsabhaiyār*<sup>161</sup>.

The temple, wherever necessary, farmed out or commuted its revenue and leased out its land perpetually to private individuals receiving reasonable advance payment and agreeing to receive a certain fixed amount annually thereafter. During the period of Sundara Pāṇḍya I the share of the temple taxes was two *kalam*, one *tūṇi*, one *patakkū* of paddy for every *mā* of land measured by the *kuḍitāṅgi kōl* and half this rate for summer crops<sup>162</sup>. The temple transferred at will to one class of persons, the obligations previously set upon another group of society, while in a few other cases, the communal maintenance of a charity was agreed upon in spite of odds. If necessary, again, the communal responsibility could be discharged and the charity entrusted to an individual. Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya defined the activities of the temple at Śrīraṅgam, and reorganised the administration of the temple, which was hitherto governed by a body of ten members belonging to the *Kōvanavar kottu* and increased the wealth of the temple, by making additional benefactions. The increase in the wealth necessitated closer supervision and a change in the management under a body of ten, two from the *Kōvanavar*, two from *Śrīraṅgamaraiyōr*, one from *talai-iḍuvār*, one from *vāṣal-ārivar* and two from *Araṭṭi mukki aṇukkar* (military officers)<sup>163</sup>. A leap to death from a temple *gōpura* by a priest Periyālvār who desired to effect a change for the better administration of the temple is recorded in an inscription from Śrīraṅgam<sup>164</sup>.

The group of temple servants was collectively known as *ṭali-parivāram*<sup>165</sup>, which included everyone from the *arcakas* to those who picked flowers for worship. The strength of the *parivāram* depended upon the wealth of the temple<sup>166</sup>. The *dēvakanmis* attached to Śiva temples were generally known as *Śivabrāhmanas*. Their duties included bathing of the deity, decorating him with flowers, prepara-

160. *Ibid.*, Nos.334, 335, 338, 362, and 367.

161. *Ibid.*, 1905, No.115.

162. *Inscr.Pud.State.*, 1929, No.254.

163. *A.R.S.Ind.Ep.*, 1938-39, No.84.

164. *Ibid.*, 1937, No.87.

165. *S.I.I.*, VII, 1933, Nos.522 and 523; VIII, 1937, No.525.

166. *S.I.I.*, VI, 1928, No.595, text, line 38: *dvādaśa dēvakarmibhyah*.



tion of *naivēdya* and the recitation of *mantra* during the worship and also receiving gifts in kind such as oil and ghee for *nundā viḷakku*<sup>167</sup>. Great care was bestowed on the choice of *Śivabrāhmaṇas* and *arcakas*. A record of Nandivarman<sup>168</sup> testifies to this : *parāyaṇamārgam vēdam vallānāyuktanākiya brāhmaṇan brahmacāriyai*. The other members of the *parivāram* were the readers of *Śivadharmā*, *Tirunjāna*, and the *uvaccar* and *māṇikaḷ* (students attached to the *maṭhas*)<sup>169</sup> and the *Ṣaṭṭaperumakkaḷ*.

It seems that the South Indian temple in ancient times had in some respects the function of a modern registry office but with greater chances of its records being preserved for a longer time than at present. This must have been the reason why inscriptions previously engraved on the walls of the temples were scrupulously re-engraved when the structure was rebuilt or renovated under official supervision. It is also to this habit of registration, which is based upon a true business-like attitude and historical conscience, that the research student owes so much of his accurate knowledge of the past and for which he cannot feel too thankful.

There are numerous references to royal patronage of the dramatic arts and dance such as *Āryakūttu* (themes from Sanskrit *Purāṇas*). *Śākkai kūttu*, *Rājarājēśvara - nāṭaka* and a theatre called *nānāvidanāṭya-śālai* in the inscriptions of the Cōlas. Two inscriptions from Āttūr in Tirunelvēli district refer to a theatrical hall (*nāṭaka-śālai*), attached to the temple and to a troupe of actors who were to enact dramas on the occasion of the *Āvaṇi* festival in the temple. A gift of land made to an actress for performing dance during the intermissions of the drama is also mentioned<sup>170</sup>

The requirements of a single *poḷudu* in a South Indian temple during the period under review is given in detail in the Ambāsamudram inscription of Varaguṇa<sup>171</sup>. The following items were required: four *nāḷi* of clean superior rice, one *uri* of a split green-gram for *kummāyam* (denoting something which was pounded; the root *kummu* in Kannada and Malayalam means 'to beat with a pestle'), one *uḷakku* of cow's

167. S.I.I, VIII, 1937, No.308

168. *Ibid.*, VI, 1928, No.355, text, lines 2-3.

169. S.I.I, VII, 1933, No.525, text, line 25.

170. A.R.Ep., 1930, Nos.444 and 445.

171. Ep.Ind., XI, 1907-08, pp.84-94.

ghee of the best quality for *nivēdanam*, one *uri* of curd, four black plantains, one *palam* of sugar, ten *palam* of vegetables for *kaṛi-amutu*. According to Rājendra's inscriptions at Tanjore pepper, mustard and salt were required for this preparation<sup>172</sup>; two *puḷiyaṅkari*, made of pepper, cumin, sugar, tamarind, curds, horsegram and plantain; one *puḷukku kari* (boiled curry in distinction to *poṛikari* or fried curry) and one *poṛikari* (vegetables fried in ghee), five kinds in all, one *ālāṅku* of cow's ghee for seasoning and frying vegetables, one *uri* of cow's ghee for *kūṭṭu* (a liquid preparation consisting of vegetables cooked with beans or gram), two *ṣeviṭṭu* of *kāyam* (asafoetida), two bundles of betel leaves, ten areca nuts and one *ṣeviṭṭu* of lime. This clearly shows that much labour, money and attention would have gone in into the provision of a food offering in a temple. The details of the annual requirements of the temple referred to in the Ambāsamudram inscriptions suggests that a *kalam* of paddy consisted of 90 *nāḷi* instead of 12 *kuṟuni* or 96 *nāḷi* as found in the Tanjore inscriptions. A *kalam* was equal to 15 *kuṟuni* and a *kuṟuni* equalled six *nāḷi*.

The prescribed duties of the *dēvaraḍiyār* in the temple included the washing of the temple premises and the pounding and cleaning of rice required for the food offering in the temple<sup>173</sup>. Evidently their work as servants of God was more of the nature of manual labour than of mere coquetry. Instances of *dēvaraḍiyāl* being honoured with special privileges such as waving fly whisks before the deity are known<sup>174</sup>. Appreciation of their services was recorded by convening special meetings of the assembly of *mahēśvaras* of the eighteen districts<sup>175</sup>.

On the whole, it appears that the administration of the temples and the nature of their beneficent activities in the uplift of the moral and intellectual stature of the community were laid on benovelent and democratic foundation<sup>176</sup>. Monarchy flourished with great success since the kings divested themselves of the unseemly temporal pomp and splendour in the interests of the people and were blessed with

172. *S.I.I.*, II, 1916, No.26.

173. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.370.

174. *Ibid.*, 1923, p. 107, para 4.

175. *Ibid.*, 1924, No.33

176. It is interesting to compare the management of temple estates in Asia Minor. T. Robert. S. Broughton, 'New Evidence on Temple Estates in Asia Minor' in *Studies in Roman Economic and Social History*, 1951. pp.236-250.

faithful civil and military officers ever vigilant to detect and punish wrong doers either in the temporal or spiritual sphere of activity.

Excellent data for the reconstruction of the economic conditions of the period in the Pāṇḍya country are furnished by the Tiruccendūr inscription of Varaguṇa<sup>177</sup>. It records that the king, who was a devout worshipper of Subrahmanya, provided 1400 gold *kāṣu* for the annual requirements of the temple. This amount was divided into sixteen unequal shares and invested with different bodies namely the *ūrār* of Ālambattam in Gaṅgai-maṇḍalam, the *nagarattār* of Mānavīrapattanam in Valudi-vaṇaṇḍu, the *sabhā* of Kāttārimaṅgalam in Śrīvalabha vaṇaṇḍu, the *sabhā* of Tummi in Paraśumaṅgalam, the *sabhā* of Māramaṅgalam in Parāntaka vaṇaṇḍu, the *sabhā* of Avanipāṣekharamaṅgalam in Amṛtaguṇa vaṇaṇḍu and *sabhās* of Puḷiyidai, Kīranūr, Śaḍaṅgavikuricci and Kaḍuṅgōmaṅgalam all situated in Kuḍa nāḍu. These bodies were to pay annually interest at the rate of two *kalam* of paddy for one *kāṣu*, to be brought and measured in the premises of the temple. The rate of interest works out only to ten%, much less than the rate authorised by Vasiṣṭha and Manu<sup>178</sup>. The *nagarattār* probably indicates a commercial guild as distinct from the *ūrār* and the *sabhā*, which were non brahmanic and brahmanic assemblies in the villages, entrusted with certain administrative powers. A fine, which was variable and in some cases as high as 20% of the capital plus the payment of double the quantity of paddy agreed upon was levied in case of default and paid into the temple. This was intended to safeguard the performance of the various functions in the temple. The purchasing power of a gold *kāṣu* as gleaned from the inscription was about ten *kalam* of paddy. Again a *kāṣu* could pay for the following quantities of other articles: 1000 plantains, 7 *tulām* and 65 pounds of sugar, 20 *tulām* of vegetables, 60 *nāḷi* of *kāyam* (Asafoetida), 1220 *paṇṇu* of betel leaves, 10, 100 areca nuts, 150 *nāḷi* of flowers, 15 *kālāṇju* of camphor and 112 *nāḷi* and one *uri* of turmeric. By an analysis of the details and figures given in the record, the following table of money, weight and measures of the period may be made out.

177. *Ep.Ind.*, XXII, 1938-39, pp. 101-116.

178. VII-140- *Naradīya*-IV-99.

**Money:**

10 pon or 10 kāṇam = 1 kāṣu<sup>179</sup>

**Weight:**

10 kāṇam = 1 kaḷaṇḷju

100 palam = 1 tulām (Approximately 24 pounds)

**Measures :**

10 ṣevidu or 2 ālakku = 1 ulaḷku

2 ulaḷku = 1 uri

2uri = 1 nāli

6 nāli = 1 kuṟuṇi

15 kuṟuṇi = 1 kalam

**Number:**

4 aḍukku = 1 paṟṟu

The coins current during the period are referred to in the inscriptions as *kāṣu*, *ānai accu*, *tiramam*, *kāṣunirai pon*, *kaḷaṇḷju*<sup>180</sup> and *aṇṇādu naṟpaḷaṇkāṣu*<sup>181</sup> *aṇṇādu naṟpudukāṣu*, *paṇcaṣalākai accu*, *ṣōḷiyankāṣu* and *VīraPāṇḍyan-kāṣu*.<sup>182</sup> The rate of interest was two *kalam* of paddy per annum per *kāṣu*, being higher than the prevalent rate at Tanjore, namely three *kuṟuṇi* of paddy per *kāṣu* in the reign of Rājarāja, if the value of the *kāṣu* remained the same in both the periods. At Kāñcīpuram the rate of interest during the period of a Parakēśari was 15%. A century earlier it was 5% in the same area. An inscription of Kampavarman dated in his ninth year mentions that the village of Orukkaipākkam had to pay one *kaḷaṇḷju* and four *maṇḷjāḍi* of gold per annum as interest on 24 *kaḷaṇḷju* of gold. As one *maṇḷjāḍi* was 1/20 of a *kaḷaṇḷju*, the rate of interest works out to 5%. In all the Tanjore inscriptions the interest rate works out to 12½%. In the sixteenth year of Parāntaka I, the residents of the four different quarters of Kāñcīpuram received 200 *kaḷaṇḷju* of gold for which they had to pay

179. The ancient Tamil works of the Sangam period refer to the *kāṣu*, *kāṇam* and *pon* among the coins current in South India. For details of salaries of various classes of people and prices of commodities in Ancient India see J. Auboyer, *La Vie Quotidienne Dans L'Inde Ancienne*, 1961.pp. 148-150.

180. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, Nos. 348 and 367; 1909, p. 80; 1910, p.97.

181. *Inscr.Pud.State.*, 1929, Nos. 249, 266 and 268.

182. *Ibid.*, Nos.302, 367, 376 and 379.



an interest of 30 *kaḷaṇḷu*, the rate being 15%. The interest on 250 *kaḷaṇḷu* was 500 *kāḍi* of paddy and 150 *kāḍi* on 50 *kaḷaṇḷu* of gold<sup>183</sup>.

An inscription from Kāmarasavalli gives the rate of assessment on articles of merchandise which were sold by measures, weights and peices, and the income derived therefrom were utilised to meet the cost of repairing the temple. The residents of the eighteen subdivisions of the seventy-nine *vaḷanāḍu*s had assembled and agreed on the following rates of taxes:  $\frac{1}{2}$  *paṇam* on each bundle of female apparel,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *paṇam* on each *podī* (head load) of pepper,  $\frac{1}{4}$  *paṇam* on each *podī* of areca nuts,  $\frac{1}{4}$  *paṇam* on each gold peice (pon) tested by rubbing, two *kāṣu* on each *podī* of rice, one *kāṣu* on each *podī* of paddy and one *kāṣu* on each *podī* of any other commodity<sup>184</sup>.

The right of collecting taxes on certain items of produce was conferred by Parākrama Pāṇḍya upon Vijayadēva as a remuneration for his duties as *pāḍikāval*.<sup>185</sup> The rate of collection was one *kalam* of paddy on every *mā* of cultivated land,  $\frac{1}{16}$  *paṇam* on every areca palm, five *paṇam* on each *mā* of cultivated land, where sugarcane, *koḷundu*, ginger, gingelley and plantain were raised and two *paṇam* a year on each house (*Vāṣal*). The rate of collection on crops during the period of Sundara Pāṇḍya I in the Pudukōṭṭai area was two *kalam* of paddy and  $\frac{1}{4}$  *tiramam* for winter crops including sugarcane on each *mā* of land, one *kalam* of paddy and  $\frac{1}{8}$  *tiramam* for the short term crops raised in the months of *Āḍi* and *Arpaṣi* (*Āṣāḍha* and *Aṣvina*) and one *tūṇi* and  $\frac{1}{16}$  *tiramam* for seasamum, *tinai* and *varagu*<sup>186</sup>.

The economic condition of the people seems to have been prosperous for only very rarely do we find references to famines or funds directed towards alleviation of famine conditions in the inscriptions of the period. An inscription of Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇḍān from Tirukōyilūr refers to a *paṭṭini-pakuti* or famine fund<sup>187</sup>.

A brief survey of the judicial administration of the period may be given. Justice like legislation was to a large extent a matter of local concern and the village assembly (*sabhā* or the *ūr* as the case may be), with the help of the special committees, the *nyāyattār*, excercised

183. G.O. No.452, Public dated 10 june 1891, Epigraphy, p.5.

184. A.R.Ep., 1914, No. 88; also part II, para 36.

185. Ibid., 1921, No. 407.

186. Inscr. Pud.State, 1929, No.294.

187. S.I.I., VII, 1933, No. 836, text, Lines 7-8

considerable powers in its administration. The traditional nature and account of Manu Cōla rendering justice to a cow, whose calf was run over by a chariot of the prince as contained in the *Periyapurāṇam* is reflected in an inscription of Vikrama Cōla (A.D.1118), from Tiruvārur<sup>188</sup>.

Public opinion was invited as a healthy factor in the deliberations of the *sabhā* when it set to decide disputes during the period of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. The dispute in point pertained to the right of worship in the temple of Kulōttuṅga Cōlēsvaram between Kanakasabhāpati bhaṭṭa, Vṛṣabhavāhana bhaṭṭa and Tiruvanantīśvara bhaṭṭa, as recorded in an inscription from Uḍaiyārguḍi<sup>189</sup>.

The latter two produced sufficient evidence to show that they had been enjoying the right from the times of Kulōttuṅga II, Rājarāja II, Tribhuvanavīradeva, Rājarāja III, and upto the eleventh year of Sundara Pāṇḍya. Kanakasabhāpati bhaṭṭa was also asked to prove his case. The final settlement is, however, not known as the stone on which the record is engraved is damaged in several places. But in the assembly that met to decide the dispute, there were amongst others, who sat, pilgrims from many districts and citizens from other parts of the kingdom.

Three inscriptions of Jaṭāvaraman Sundara Pāṇḍya, all dated in his eleventh year give adequate details regarding criminal law administration in the Pāṇḍya country during the thirteenth century A.D. They register the confiscation of all the property, including a village Karuvērkuricci, houses, gardens male and female servants belonging to Śattiyanāvan, who had escaped after the murder of Vāmana bhaṭṭa with the help of his armed accomplices on the night of the 25th day of *Arpaṣi* (Aśvina) while he was returning from the temple. The confiscated properties were added as *tirunāmattu kāṇi* to the temple of Cokkanārāyaṇa.

The second inscription refers to this incident and adds that the murderer was killed by the victim's party and also enumerates the rates of taxes due on the confiscated land belonging to Dēvargaḷ nāyan, an accomplice of Śattiyanāvan to be paid into the temple and the *sabhā*.

The third inscription records the decision of the *sabhā* to return to Śattiyanāvan Śēramalaiperumāl, the son of the accused, all the property

188. *Ibid.*, V, 1925, No. 456.

189. *A.R.Ep.*, 1920, 571, part II para 40

belonging to Śattiyanāvan which were confiscated, against a payment of 800 *pon* and certain taxes on the land to the temple in response to a joint representation of several witnesses on behalf of Śēramalaiperumāl and an appeal by him to the Śrīmā hēśvaras, Śrīvaiṣṇavas, the *kaṇakkar* ( accountants), those reciting the hymns, to Nārāyaṇa Dāsa, who was the agent of the king for the estate and the temple, and to the *Agampadi kaikkōlar*. His appeal was admitted on one condition that he should maintain the service called *Vīrakērala-maḷavarāyan śandi* in the temple. The records do not mention the causes that led to the murder of Vāmana bhaṭṭa, or the name of the person who avenged the murder or how the latter was punished. It is also not clear why the entire property of Dēvargaḷnāyan was confiscated in the first instance and why the punishment was considerably lightened after the culprit was assassinated eventually.

The crimes of the period from Rājarāja I to Rājarāja III could be classified under two heads: 1. Murder; and 2. Culpable homicide not amounting to murder on account of accident in hunting or shooting or by negligence. Various instances of criminal law administration under these heads have been dealt with fully in the Annual Reports on Epigraphy<sup>190</sup>.

It is noteworthy that none of the inscriptions mention theft, robbers or dacoity. There were a few instances of misappropriation of funds, falsification of accounts and breach of trust. That capital punishment was contemplated by the laws of the time is clear in the case of Vāmana bhaṭṭa, who was stabbed to death by Śattiyanāvan, who was probably a *Śudra*. The murder of a brāhmaṇa was considered to be the most heinous crime and required capital punishment. Manu<sup>191</sup> lays down that in no case shall the life of a brāhmaṇa be taken but he should pay a fine in cash according to the nature of the crime. It is also stated that any body other than a brāhmaṇa who causes any sort of misery or injury to a brāhmaṇa shall have his limbs cut off or suffer death.

A special feature of the administration of criminal law was that sentences of punishment were passed in the assembly by citizens, villagers, the people of the *nāḍu* and the brāhmaṇas. One does not often

190. *A.R.Ep.*, 1899-1900, part II, para 9; 1906-07, p. 63; 1909-10, p.85; 1917-18, p.148; 1918-19, p. 99; *A.R.S. Ind.Ep.*, 1932-33, No. 146, also pp.65-67.

191. Chapter IX, strophes 243 and 248.

hear of *dharmāsana*s (seats of Justice) as having been requisitioned in these cases. In certain cases, the perpetrator of a murder compromised with the relatives of the murdered and gave a donation for burning lamps in the temple. Fines in cash and land given in reparation did not constitute a source of revenue to the state, but they were all transferred to the temple. Manu also lays down that fines levied in such cases should not be appropriated by the king. It is rather strange heinous crimes were let off merely with a fine or a donation to burn a lamp. Rules for expiating all classes of crimes are laid down. Burning lamps in a temple is considered the most virtuous act as is clear from the majority of stone inscriptions.

An inscription of Śrīvallabha (A.D. 1080) makes an interesting reference to the case of a brāhmaṇa lady who poisoned herself for an unspecified reason. Allegations were made against her husband, which were proved to be unfounded. In expiation of this calumny the *kaikkōlas* residing in the *maḍaviḷāgam* of the temple at Tirupattūr gave to Sundara Pāṇḍya bhaṭṭa, the husband, a plot of land as *udirapaṭṭi* (compensatory gift). The land had been obtained in exchange for their land from the *mūlapariśad mahāśabhā* and the *mup-patu vaṭṭattu Kāṇiyālar* (body of thirty members holding the tenancy rights jointly) of the temple<sup>192</sup>. The document was signed by the accountant of the temple Aḷagiyaperumāl Ambalattāḍuvān also known as Āyirattelunīruvanmūvēndavēḷān<sup>193</sup>.

The *puṇavu-vari-kūru-ṣeyyār*, whose main duty it was to attend to the revenue affairs, had also judicial functions in the time of Kulōttuṅga III. This is clear from an inscription of the king<sup>194</sup> dated in his twentieth year where two classes of officials act as officers to settle boundary disputes between the two temples of Śrīraṅgam and Tiruvānaikkāval (Jambukēśvaram) arising out of the erosion of the river Kollidam into the land belonging to these temples. The king is stated to have summoned the representatives of the *śabhā*, the *karaṇattār* (accountants) of the two villages, the superintendents of the two temples and adjudged their awards by taking into account the holdings of the two temples as they were before the erosion in the nineteenth year of the king and the actual enjoyment rights of both the parties, by suggesting

192. A.R.S.Ind.Ep., 1935-36, No.172.

193. He probably belonged to an administrative organisation consisting of 1700 members.

194. A.R.S.Ind.Ep., 1938-39, No.113.



suitable exchange of land. This award seems to have satisfied both the parties and they demarcated their respective boundaries with the marks of the *Cakra* and *śūla* respectively.

Chau Ju-Kua<sup>195</sup>, gives an exaggerated account of justice in Cōla and Pāṇḍya countries: 'when anyone among the people is guilty of an offence, one of the court ministers punishes him; if the offence is light, the culprit is tied to a wooden frame and given fifty, seventy upto a hundred blows with a stick. Heinous crimes are punished with decapitation or by being trampled to death by an elephant'. This account is not corroborated or reflected in any other known source of Cōla and Pāṇḍya history.

The preceding administrative survey makes no claim to completeness as is only an attempt to draw attention to the more prominent and salient features of the administrative system of the period.

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195. Cf. the translation by F. Hirth and W.W. Rookhill, 1911, p.95.



## Society and Religion

It is usual to conceive of society in South India as divided into four classes: Brāhmaṇas, Kṣatriyas, Vaiśyas and Śūdras. This fourfold classification in accordance with the injunction of the Hindu Śāstras was maintained theoretically during the period, but there is no evidence to show that it was strictly adhered to. Brāhmaṇas and Kṣatriyas are frequently referred to in the inscriptions of Tiruvāliśvaram. As elsewhere in India there is no real evidence for violent social conflicts and jealousies such as those between the *iḍaṅgai* and *valaṅgai* or between brāhmaṇas and non-brāhmaṇas. The brāhmaṇas persumably stood at the head of society. They were learned, proficient in the vēdas and Śāstras and are even represented as gods on earth, engaged in the six duties, whose blessings come true and who practise self control according to the Kaṣakkudi Plates of Nandivarman Pallava<sup>1</sup>. The qualifications of a *bhaṭṭa* during the time of Rājarāja I, as laid down in an inscription from Ānūr dated A.D.999, are interesting. He should be well versed in the Vēdas and should be able to teach Pāṇini's grammar (*vyākaraṇa*), *alamkāra* and also twenty chapters of the *Mīmāṃsa*<sup>2</sup> *Sōmayājīn*, *sarvakratu*, *kramavid*<sup>3</sup> and *bhaṭṭas*<sup>4</sup> figure frequently in the Tiruvāliśvaram inscriptions. The other members of society, as gleaned from the inscriptions of the period, consisted of

1. S.I.I., II, Part III, 1913-17, No.73, p.346, strophe 8: *Yē devā bhuvi ṣaṭsu karmasu ratā satyāṣiṣaḥ samyataḥ*.

2. A.R.Ep., 1932-33, No.76.

3. *Ibid.*, 1916, No.337.

4. A.R.Ep., 1916, Nos.334, 339, 345, 346 and 362.

*vellālar*.<sup>5</sup> *ṣeṭṭi*, *piḷḷai* and *mudali*<sup>6</sup>, besides merchants<sup>7</sup>, artisans and other professional groups. It is interesting to note that *vellālar* were often given brāhmaṇic names, as for instance *vellālan* Brahmakūttan, who figures as a donor in the Tiruvāliṣvaram inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya.<sup>8</sup>

Among other social groups are the Pāraśivas, the *citramēli-periya nāṭṭār*, the Rathakāras, Samayasāṅkēti and Dādanambi. The Pāraśivas attached to the temple of Elavanāsur, seem to have been a flourishing community under Jaṭavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya<sup>9</sup>. According to the *Manusmṛti*, the Pāraśivas were *anulōmajas*, as they were the offspring of a brāhmaṇa father and a Śūdra mother. They were granted special honours during auspicious occasions, which were vouchsafed in a *vyavasthā-patra* granted by the *sthānattār* of the temple of Ūrbhagaṅkonḍaruliya-nāyanār extending to them the same privileges as obtained in Pāṇḍya maṇḍalam, Cōla maṇḍalam and Naḍuvil maṇḍalam. A similar privilege granted to this community is recorded in another inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya from Tiruvēndipuram<sup>10</sup>.

The Citramēli periya-nāṭṭār, an agricultural community who called themselves *bhūmi-putras* and the children of Paramēśvari, were a prominent and prosperous social group under Māṇavarman Kulaśekhara<sup>11</sup> (A.D 1267-68). The plough share was their deity and the *paṣumpai* (pedlar's pack) their emblem. They figure largely in the inscriptions of the 13th and 14th centuries<sup>12</sup>. The *praśasti* of the Citramēli guild in the Tamil country as found in an inscription may be cited:

Śrīmatām-bhūmi-putrāṇām śrīmad-gō-kṣīra-jīvinām /  
sarvalōka-hitan-nyāyyam citramēḷasya śāsanam //

5. S.I.I., XIV, 1962 No.141.

6. A.R.Ep., 1916 Nos.329, 347 and 362.

7. Ibid., Nos. 334, 355, 357, 358, and 371.

8. S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.141.

9. A.R.S.Ind. Ep., 1937-38, No.492.

10. S.I.I., VII, 1933, No.765.

11. A.R.S.Ind.Ep., 1938-39, No.189.

12. Ibid., 1936-37, part II, p.77, para 43.



jīyatām jagatām = ētat pālanam rāṣṭra-pōṣanam /  
 śāsanam bhūmi-putrāṇām caturvarṇṇa-kulōdbhavam //<sup>13</sup>

The Rathakāras, Samayasāṅkētis and Dāsanambis were conferred with special social rights as known from a Sanskrit inscription from Poyyakkaraippaṭṭi near Madurai<sup>14</sup>. This registers the grant of certain privileges by the Rathakāras of Maṅgalavāsaccēri in Pāṇḍya maṇḍalam to Tirumalaiy-ālvān, a tāda (dāsa) nambi<sup>15</sup> for his service to the community. The four classes of Rathakāras are stated to have pursued 'six kinds of vocations' pertaining to the 'three divisions of work'. This classification of the work is not clear, but at the end of the inscription, the Rathakāras are called the *padinen viṣaiyattār* (the representatives of the eighteen *viṣayas*)<sup>16</sup>

No precise details about the density of population in this area appear from the inscriptions. In the thousands of South Indian Inscriptions there is no reference to any periodical census. The evidence on the state of agriculture, trade, armed forces and the amount of labour and resources utilised for public works and for religious monuments may, however, suggest a numerous and busy population.

The village of Tiruvāliṣvaram consisted of at least nine divisions as recorded in an inscription of Vīra Pāṇḍya from the Śiva temple<sup>17</sup>. A division called Tulakkilimaṅgalam was included in the ninth *cēri* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam, which was administered by Śrī Haṛṣa bhaṭṭa as a representative of the Pāṇḍya king. The fifth division is also mentioned as *añcāñcēri*. Two inscriptions of Rājarāja<sup>18</sup> give details of the different parts of the villages of Tanjore and Pālaiyūr during the period as *ūr nattam* (village site), *śrīkōyil* with its *tirumuṟṟam* (the temple and its courtyard), *kuḷam* (pond), *vāykkāl* (irrigation channel) passing through the village, *paraiccēri* (quarters for *paraiyas* a caste group), *kammāṇaccēri* (quarters for smiths and artisans of the five caste

13. S.I.I., VII, 1933, No.129. For an account of this and other guilds the reader is referred to *Qu.Journ.Myth.Soc.*, XLV, 1954-55, pp.29-47, 70-98, and 270-286.

14. A.R.S.Ind. Ep., 1938-39, No.222.

15. Nambi literally means to trust or believe. T.Burrow and M.B.Emeneau, *Dravidian Etymological Dictionary*, 1961, p.238; 2975.

16. A.R.S.Ind.Ep., 1937-38, No.125; also part II, p.82, para 30.

17. A.R.Ep., 1916, No.339.

18. S.I.I., II, 1916, Nos.4 and 5, pp.42-67.

groups namely goldsmith, coppersmith, *silpin*, carpenter and blacksmith), *vaṇṇāccēri* (washermen's quarters), *īraccēri* (quarter where toddy was sold), *śuḍukāḍu* (cremation ground) *tīṇḍāccēri* (quarters for magicians and sorcerers and therefore untouchable), the quarters for the workmen on the *peruvaḷi* (highway), thrashing floor for grain in the village, *karkīḍai* (cattle pound), *tirumañjana kuḷam* (the sacred bathing pond), *ūrūṇi kuḷam* (public pond), the stables, wasteland used as pasture, *talaivāyccēri* (quarters near the main gateway of the village), *toṭṭi* (cistern), *paḷlavāy* (the land used as pit for refuse) and *īlaccēri* (a quarter named after Rājarāja's conquest of Ceylon and probably for the settlement of Rājarāja's soldiers who fought in Ceylon). The villages inhabited by brāhmaṇas were known as *agrahāra* or *maṅgala* as distinct from *kuḍi* or *ūr* for the *veḷḷāḷa* villages. A small village was called *kuṟicci* and a fortified one a *kōṭṭai*.

There is a characteristic association of streets and temples in many places in South India. The features of this are the temple with one or more *gōpuras* and shrines enclosed by a *prākāra* (wall), a number of broad streets around the temple in rectangular form, often bearing names as South, North, East and West car streets, and a wide street leading to the main entrance of the temple. The main image or *mūlabhēra* of the temple faces the direction of this street. Two other features, less typical, are the tank, the location of which in respect of the temple may vary; and the inner rectangle of narrow streets called the *maḍaviḷāgam* in the inscriptions, which sometimes replaces or accompanies the car streets. The car streets are for the procession of the temple chariot during the festivals. The *sannadhi* streets are nearly always occupied by brāhmaṇas. The *māḍavīdi*, the street with storeyed buildings, surrounds the temple and appears to consist of residences for wealthy and distinguished people. From the inscriptions it is learnt that the construction of storeyed buildings and mansions was a privilege given only to a few and that such buildings were built with burnt bricks. The term *pādi* like *cēri* is applied to denote a quarter of a big village. The *śaṅkarapādiyar* figure as a separate class of inhabitants (*kuḍigaḷ*) and are mentioned along with *vyāpārin* (merchants), *veḷḷāḷar* (cultivators), *śāliyar* (cloth dealers) and *paṭṭinavar* (silk dealers)<sup>19</sup>. A second group called *kīḷ-kalanai* including *taccar* (carpenters), *kollar* (blacksmiths), *taṭṭār* (goldsmiths) and *kōḷiyar* (poultry keepers), is also mentioned. The other group

19. *S I.I.*, IV, 1923, No.223.

*puṛa-kalanai* included the *śāliyar*, *vāṇigar*, *kaikkōlar*, *sēnai-aṅgāḍiyar* and *kōyil-aṅgāḍiyar* (shopkeepers of the temple and palace quarters)<sup>20</sup>,

### Women:

We get a few references relating to women, especially queens, princesses and *dēvarāḍiyār* in the inscriptions. Their social life and activities were free, though modesty was considered their highest virtue. The inscriptions reveal many instances of women of the upper classes owning property in their own right and disposing of it as they chose. This is attested by the Mānūr inscription of Māraṅjadaiyan<sup>21</sup>. Though kings and nobles had numerous wives, the monogamous family was the normal unit of social life. The utilisation of female labour in the less skilled occupations was common. We do not get sufficient information regarding *satī* or *sahagamana* in the Pāṇḍya inscriptions of the period<sup>22</sup>. On the whole we learn that there was in this period a high ideal of womanhood and that feminine virtues were greatly valued.

Mukkākīlānadigal, the queen of Rājendra I<sup>23</sup>, figures in one of the inscriptions of Tiruvāliśvaram<sup>24</sup>. The *vēlam* or retinue of Ulakūtaiya pirāṭṭiyār (Lōkamahādēvi, another queen of Rājendra) is referred to in an inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya on the Śiva temple<sup>25</sup>. Paravai nācciyār, the consort of Sundaramūrti nāyanār, and her *utsava-vigraha* in the Tiruvāliśvaram temple are referred to in a record of Sundara Pāṇḍya I<sup>26</sup>. The marriage of Sundaramūrti with Paravai nācciyār was celebrated according to vēdic rites. There is no reference to the ceremony of the *tāli* rite in the account of Śekkirār in the *Tiruttoṇḍar purāṇam*<sup>27</sup>. The Tanjore inscription of Rājarāja I describes the image of Paravaiyār, the wife of Nambi Ārūranār (Sundaramūrti), set up by Ādityan Sūryan, the *śrīkāryam* officer of the temple in the 29th

20. A.R.Ep., 1910, No.298.

21. Ep.Ind., XXII, 1933-34, pp.5-11.

22. An inscription dated in the 17th regnal year of Śrīvallabha from Jayatuṅganallūr, in Tirunelveli district records a grant of land to commemorate the death of a woman who burnt herself, *Indian Archaeology, A Review*, 1959-60, p.58, No.31.

23. A.R.Ep., 1927, No.73.

24. *Ibid.*, 1916, No.345.

25. S.I.I, XIV, 1962, No.170.

26. A.R.Ep., 1916, No.345.

27. C.J.Jayadev, 'The Tali and Tali rite' in *Trans.Arch.Soc S.I.*, 1959-60, p.52.

regal year (A.D.1014) of the king<sup>28</sup>. The Tyāgarājasvāmin temple inscription of Kulōttuṅga I<sup>29</sup> from Tiruvārūr refers to her as Paṛavai nācciyār, while mentioning a gift of four images in the seventh year (A.D. 1077) of the king. In the *Periyapurāṇam*, she is only mentioned as Paṛavaiyār<sup>30</sup>. The same work also refers to a temple called *Tiruvārūr ppaṛavaiyuṇ maṇ taḷi* (the mud temple in which Paṛavai stayed at Tiruvārūr).

Among the prominent *devarāḍiyār* attached to the Tiruvālīśvara temple was Āriyāl Bhuvani Ātkoṇḍanāyakamāṇikkam<sup>31</sup> also devoted to the deity at Tirumkukkūdal<sup>32</sup>. Šempon Tyāgi Vīrabhadra-naṅgai<sup>33</sup>, daughter of Ambattāl another *dēvarāḍiyār* seems to have led a life of ease and pleasure like the Greek *hetaera* and provided amusement and intellectual companionship to those who could afford it. At her worst, she was a temple prostitute. Some of them were married as for instance Ambattāl, the mother of Vīrabhadra-naṅgai<sup>34</sup>. The traditional classification of *dēvadāsīs* was seven fold:

1. *Dattā*, one who was given as a gift to the temple,
2. *Vikrītā*, one who was sold to the temple,
3. *Bhrtyā*, one who offered herself as a temple servant for the prosperity of her family,
4. *Bhaktā*, one who joins the temple out of devotion,
5. *Hāritā*, one who was enticed away and presented to a temple,
6. *Alamkārā*, one who, being well trained in her profession and profusely dressed, was presented to a temple by a king or noble,
7. *Rudraṇikā*, one who received regular wages from a temple and was employed to sing and dance.

The social standing of the *dēvarāḍiyār* in Cōla and Pāṇḍya countries is clearly indicated by the numerous records registering rich benefactions made by them and the recognition given by local powers

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28. *S.I.I.*, II, 1913-17, pp.152 ff.

29. *Ibid.*, VII, 1933, No.485.

30. Edited with an interpretation by Ārumugha Tambirān, p.21.

31. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.345.

32. *Ibid.*, No.353.

33. *Ibid.*, Nos.354, 362 and 363.

34. *Ibid.*, No.363.



to their public spirit. The prescribed duties of *dēvaraḍiyār* in the temples consisted in the washing up and cleaning of the temple premises and the cleaning and pounding of rice required for food offerings to the deity. Evidently their work as servants of God was also of the nature of manual labour.

### Maṭhas:

There is no evidence for *maṭhas* in inscriptions until the beginning of the eighth century. The earliest mention of a *maṭha* is in the Tirumēṟṟali inscription of Dantivarman Pallava<sup>35</sup>. A *maṭha* is an abode for students and others connected with them; *maṭhas chāṭṭrāṇi-niḷayaḥ*<sup>36</sup>. A study of the numerous inscription relating to the origin, organisation and purpose of the *maṭhas* in South India reveals that they served as important educational centres, in addition to being feeding houses for the poor and infirm and rest houses for pilgrims. The scholars attached to the *maṭha* were known as Caṭṭaperumakkal (caṭṭan, noun from Sanskrit Chāṭṭra = pupil)<sup>37</sup>. The *maṭhas* had some control over temple endowments as revealed by Cōḷa and Pāṇḍya inscriptions of the tenth and eleventh centuries. From about the tenth century onwards, it was a very common feature to include *maṭhas* within temple precincts in South India. A large number of epigraphic records relates to these *maṭhas* indicating their power and popularity. Numerous references to the establishment of *maṭhas* by Śaiva devotees are found in the *Periyapurāṇam* and the *Tēvāram* of Appar, Sundarar and Jñānasambandhar. They mention the following *maṭhas* in the Pāṇḍya country:

Sambandhar<sup>38</sup>

1. Tiruvālavāy (Madurai),
2. Tirupparankunṇam,
3. Tiru āppanūr,
4. Tiru ēṭakam,

35. A.R.Ep., 1921, No.89; S.I.I, 'III, 1943, No.44.

36. *Amarakosa, Namalinganusanam.* ii, 5 1941, p.75 edited by S.D. Sharma and G.S. Sardesai.

37. *Tamil Lexicon*, III, 1924-39, p.1237, also *Trav.Arch.Ser.*, I, 1910-13, p.9. 'oru caṭṭanai oru caṭṭan pīlaikka pēṭuvānākil.

38. Jñānasambandhar, *Tēvāram*, Kasi Mutt edition, 1950, pp.539, 541, 543, 546, 550, 554, 556, 558, 562, and 566.

5. Tirukkoṇṭkunṇam,
6. Tiruppattūr,
7. Tiruppunaivayal,
8. Tiru Irāmēśvaran (Rāmēśvaram),
9. Tiru āḍānai,
10. Tirukkāṇappēr,
11. Tiruppūvanam,
12. Tirukurṇālam, and
13. Tirunelvēli.

Appar<sup>39</sup>

1. Ālavāy (Madurai),
2. Tirunelvēli, as Nelvāyil, and
3. Rāmēśvaram,

Sundarar<sup>40</sup>:

1. Tirupparankunṇam,
2. Tirunelvēli, and
3. Tiruccuḷi.

These Śaiva *maṭhas* played a very important part in the cultural field in South India. They controlled temple affairs pertaining to ritual and doctrine and pilgrims from other parts found a ready residence there. The Virapaṇḍitan *maṭha* attached to the temple of Tiruvāliśvaram fed itinerant *tapasvins* (ascetics) and provided lodgings for them on the festival day of the Rōhiṇī *nakṣatra*<sup>41</sup>. The *maṭhas* also served as teaching and training centres. References to grants made for a study of the Ṛk-, Yajur-, Sama- and Atharva- *vēdas* and for the teaching of *Śāstras* and for reciting the Purāṇas and *Itihāsas*, *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, in the *maṭhas* are numerous<sup>42</sup> during the period testifying to the educational and spiritual activities of these institutions. A competition held in reciting the *Jaiminiya Sāmavēda* is recorded in an inscription of Sundara Cōla Parāntaka dated in his

39. *Tevāram*, Kaṣi Muṭṭ edition, 1949, pp.361, 368, 373.

40. *Ibid.*, pp.3,6,212.

41. *A.R.Ep.*, 1916, No.337.

42. *Ibid.*, Nos.671, 667; 1922, No.546

14th regnal year (A.D. 999)<sup>43</sup>. A deposit of 20 *Karuṅkāṣu* was made with the temple of Tiruccēlūr by a *sarvakratuyājin* belonging to the Bhāradvāja *gōtra* for a prize to the best reciter of prescribed portions of the *Jaiminiya Sāmaveda*<sup>44</sup> before the deity on the night of the Ārdrā or Tiruvādirai festival in the month of Mārgaḷi (Māragaśirṣa).

The principal *maṭhas* figuring in the records of Tiruvāliśvarman are the Gōlaki *maṭha*<sup>45</sup>, the Bhikṣā *maṭha* and the Grāmarājan *maṭha*<sup>46</sup> under the patronage of Jaṭavarman Kulāśekhara and Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya. A note about the foundation and growth of the Gōlaki *maṭha* may be given here. It was established by Sadbhavaśambhu with the patronage of Yuvarājadēva, the Kalacuri king. There were several branches of the Gōlaki *maṭha* outside Central India such as those in South India at Cuddapah, Kurnool, Guntur, North Arcot, Madras and Tirunelvēli districts. The Gōlaki *maṭha* was probably connected with Prabōdhaśiva of the Mattamyūra clan mentioned in the Chandrehe Inscription dated A.D.973<sup>47</sup>. It was concerned with the *pāśupata* form of Śaivism. The Malkāpuram inscription<sup>48</sup> dated A.D.1261 gives the genealogy of Viśvēśvaraśambhu, the chief priest of the Viśvēśvara Gōlaki. *Sōmaśambhū-paddhati*, a work on Śaivāgama. Sōmaśambhu's successor was Vāmaśambhu. After some interval came Kīrttiśambhu, who was followed by Vimalaśambhu from Kēraḷa. His successor was Dharmāśiva who was followed by Viśvēśvaraśiva from Gauḍa-dēśa (Bengal). Viśvēśvaraśiva was the *guru* of these Kākatīya king Gaṇapati. Śivadēvayya, mentioned in the Telugu poem *Sōmadēvarājīyam* and in the literary work *Pratāpacaritam*<sup>49</sup> as the chief adviser of Gaṇapati must probably identified with Viśvēśvaraśiva. He is said to have constituted an *agrahāra* named Viśvēśvara Gōlaki from the two villages donated to him and established a temple of Śiva with a *maṭha* for all

43. S.I.I., XIII, 1952, No.250.

44. *mēr pādattu oru turuvum kiḷ pādattu oru turuvum karaipariccu paṭṭam kaṭattu piḷaiyāmē connār.*

45. A.R.Ep., 1916, Nos.359, 361 and 364.

46. A.R.Ep., 1916, Nos.356 and 358.

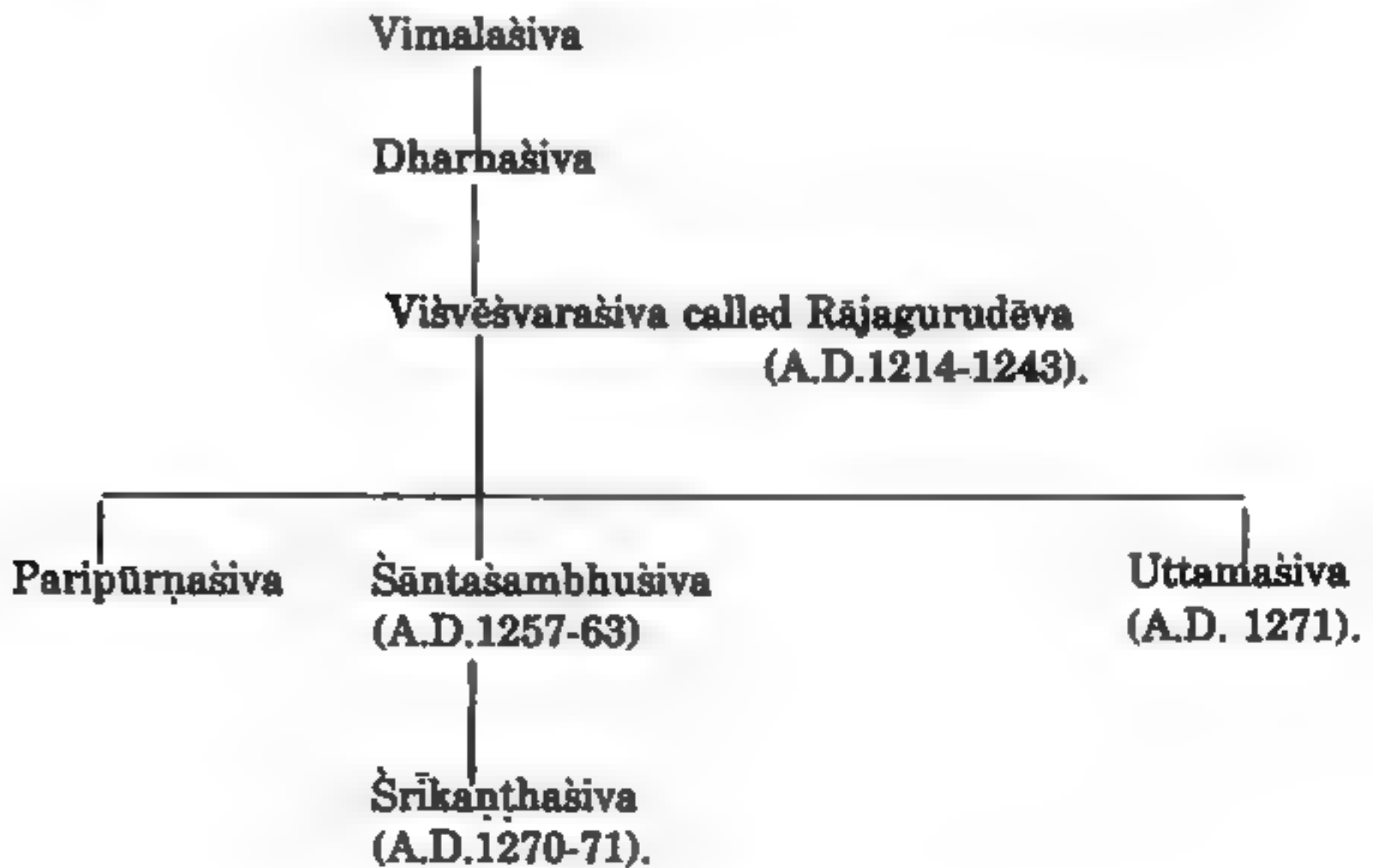
47. Ep. Ind., XXI, 1932-33, pp.148 ff; C.I.I., IV, 1955, pp.198-204 and plate p.clvii.

48. J.A.H.R.S., IV, 1929, pp.147-162-Deccan, parts VII to XI, 1960.

49. Published by Śaivapracārini Granthamala, Warangal, also cited in G.Yazdani, *The Early History of the Deccan* parts VII to XI, 1960, pp.598, 627, 658, 666-67 and 700.

classes from brāhmaṇas to caṇḍālas as well as a hospital, a maternity home (*prasūti śālā*) and a college for teaching several branches of Sanskrit Studies. The *agrahāra* was settled with sixty brāhmaṇas, probably associated with the *Kālamukha* sect from the Tamil country. In addition there were many other brāhmaṇas well-versed in *Ṛk*-, *Yajur*-, and *Sāma vēdas*, *vyākaraṇa* and *tarka* and five in philosophy who formed the staff of the institution. The village had also a physician and an accountant (*kāyastha*). Ten *vīrabhadras* were appointed as watchmen and ten *vīramuṣṭis* as *bhaṭṭas*. There were also ten artisans: a goldsmith, a coppersmith, a blacksmith, a carpenter, a stone mason and *śilpin*, a basket maker, a potter, a barber and a *sthapati* (architect). The temple had ten *narttakis* on its roll, eight musicians, fourteen singers, six drummers and one from Kāśmir, whose duties are not specified but who was probably an instructor in instrumental music. A number of brāhmaṇas were to keep the accounts of the temple. The concluding portion of the Malkapuram inscription has a long list of charities established by Viśvēśvaraśiva<sup>50</sup>.

The spiritual lineage of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* was as follows:



50. For a detailed account the reader is referred to *A.R.Ep.*, 1917, part II, para 33; 1936-37, p.67.



The teachers of the Gōlaki *maṭha* appear to have moved over to Southern India some time before the 11th century A.D. Pugali-pperumāl of the *Jñānāmṛta-santāna* of the *maṭha* is constantly referred to in the Tiruvāliśvaram inscription of Vira Pāṇḍya<sup>51</sup> and in those of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya<sup>52</sup> in which Aghōradeva is mentioned as belonging to the *Jīyar-santāna* of the same *maṭha*. The Bhikṣā *maṭha* and its teachers Aghōraśiva and Īśanaśiva are mentioned in the inscriptions, suggesting their connection with the Śaiva siddhānta teachers of the same name. The *maṭha* is also referred to in association with Gōlaki *dharma* and later in the sixteenth century<sup>53</sup>. The disciples of this *maṭha* had under their administration some important temples in South India extending from Dēvikāpuram<sup>54</sup> in North Arcot to Manappaḍaiviḍu in Tirunelvēli<sup>55</sup>.

The Vira-paṇḍitan *maṭha* was another religious institution situated in the temple precincts of Tiruvāliśvaram. During the period of Sundara Pāṇḍya I itinerant *tapasvins* were given food regularly every month with a special feast on the day of the Rōhiṇī *nakṣatra*<sup>56</sup>, which marked the celebration of a festival in the temple under the superintendence of Vāgiśan. The eight śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple namely Mānābharaṇan, Sundara-bhaṭṭan, Tyāgavinoda-brahmādhirāyan, Nālāyira-bhaṭṭan, Tiruttonḍa-nambi, Siriyāṇḍan-bhaṭṭan and Dēva-piḷḷai (who was a non-brahman), were to administer the charities and endowments connected with the *maṭha*.

The Grāmarajan *maṭha* was another important institution situated outside the precincts of the Tiruvāliśvaram temple<sup>57</sup>. The *maheśvaras* residing in the *maṭha* during the period of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara were Aghōradeva, Nētradeva or Tiruvalavāy-uḍaiyān<sup>58</sup> and Sadāśivadēva. Among their sons are mentioned Atirviśiyāḍuvān and Tiru-cciṟrambalam-uḍaiyān. The traders of Malai-maṇḍalam (Kērala) were munificent donors to this institution in cash and kind

51. A.R.Ep., 1916, Nos.359, 361.

52. *Ibid.*, No.364.

53. A.R.S.Ind.Ep., 1935-36, No.178.

54. A.R.Ep., 1912, No.352.

55. *Ibid.*, 1909, No.443.

56. *Ibid.*, 1916, Nos.351 and 357.

57. *Ibid.*, No.356.

58. Tiruvalavāy denotes Madurai and Nētradeva was perhaps born at **Madurai**

for the conduct of festivals and feeding charities during the period of Kulaśekhara<sup>59</sup> and Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya I<sup>60</sup>.

On the whole, three groups of Śaiva cult and philosophy were popular in South India from the tenth century on : first the school of pure devotion and self-surrender, perpetuated by the *nāyanmars*, the second, the agamic school, largely influenced by the *pratyabhijñā* school of Kāśmir and third, that of the Lakulīśa-*samaya*; the *Pāśupatas* and *kālamukhas*, who were very prominent at Tiruvorriyūr, Ālambakkam, Koḍumbālūr and other parts of South India since the time of the Pallavas. The *Pāśupata* sects founded *maṭhas* all over the country from Cedi and Malwa in Central India to Cape Comorin in South India. The mystic Meykaṇḍanār composed his treatise, *Śivajñānabōdham*, on the philosophy of Śaiva doctrine, which was to a certain extent influenced by the *pratyabhijñā* system of Kāśmir. He was closely followed by Arunandi, who wrote the *Śivajñānasiddhiyār*. These two form the chief scriptures of South Indian Śaiva metaphysics. Nambi Aṇḍār Nambi, a contemporary of Rājarāja I and Rājendra I, re-arranged the Śaiva cannon. All these together formed the *Tirujñānam*, comprising the hymns recited in temples and the theological cannons expounded by the Śaiva teachers.

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59. A.R.Ep., 1916, No.355.

60. *Ibid.*, No.358.

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## The Tiruvalisvaram Inscriptions Transcriptions and Translations

Chronological order of the Tiruvāliṣvaram Inscriptions.







Serial Number	Location	Published reference
1. No.116 of 1905	on the north wall of the central shrine.	
2. No.119 of 1905	On the south wall of the central shrine.	
3. No.117 of 1905	On the north and west walls of the central shrine	
4. No.118 of 1905	On the north and west walls of the central shrine	
5. No.120 of 1905	On a pillar set up near the <i>bali pīṭha</i> .	
6. No.115 of 1905	On the north wall of the central shrine.	S.I.I., XIV, 1962, No.141.
7. No.327 of 1916	South wall of the central shrine.	S.I.I., XIV, No.160
8. No.332 of 1916	North wall of the central shrine.	S.I.I., XIV, No.161
9. No.330 of 1916	West wall of the central shrine.	S.I.I., XIV, No.170
10. No.328 of 1916	West wall of the central shrine.	S.I.I., XIV, No.187
11. No.329 of 1916	West wall of the central shrine.	S.I.I., XIV, No.196
12. No.331 of 1916	North wall of the central shrine.	S.I.I., XIV, No.239






- |                    |   |                              |
|--------------------|---|------------------------------|
| 13. No.326 of 1916 | South wall of the central shrine.   | S.I.I., XIV,<br>1962, No.220 |
| 14. No.371 of 1916 | Slab used in the Kitchen of the temple.                                   |                              |
| 15. No.335 of 1916 | Northern half of the <i>adhiṣṭhāna</i> of the <i>ardha-maṇḍapa</i> .      |                              |
| 16. No.356 of 1916 | West wall of the first <i>prākāra</i> .                                   |                              |
| 17. No.337 of 1916 | North wall of the <i>ardha-maṇḍapa</i> .                                  |                              |
| 18. No.355 of 1916 | West wall of the first <i>prākāra</i> .                                   |                              |
| 19. No.370 of 1916 | North side of the <i>adhiṣṭhāna</i> of the <i>Saundaryanāyaki</i> shrine. |                              |
| 20. No.342 of 1916 | Wall of the inner <i>gōpura</i> , left of the entrance.                   |                              |
| 21. No.349 of 1916 | South wall of the <i>prākāra</i> .  |                              |
| 22. No.350 of 1916 | South wall of the <i>prākāra</i> .  |                              |
| 23. No.333 of 1916 | South wall of the <i>ardha-maṇḍapa</i> .                                  |                              |
| 24. No.344 of 1916 | Wall of the inner <i>gōpura</i> , proper right.                           |                              |
| 25. No.353 of 1916 | Westwall of the <i>prākāra</i> .  |                              |
| 26. No.358 of 1916 | West wall of the <i>prākāra</i> .   |                              |
| 27. No.357 of 1916 | West wall of the <i>prākāra</i> .   |                              |
| 28. No.354 of 1916 | West wall of the <i>prākāra</i> .   |                              |
| 29. No.345 of 1916 | West wall of the <i>gōpura</i> , right side.                              |                              |
| 30. No.348 of 1916 | South wall of the <i>prākāra</i> .  |                              |





- |                    |   |
|--------------------|---|
| 31. No.346 of 1916 | Wall of the inner<br><i>gōpura</i> , left side.                             |
| 32. No.341 of 1916 | West side of the<br><i>adhiṣṭhāna</i> of the<br>first <i>prākāra</i> .      |
| 33. No.364 of 1916 | East wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> , left side.                             |
| 34. No.360 of 1916 | North wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> . *                                     |
| 35. No.340 of 1916 | South wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .                                       |
| 36. No.338 of 1916 | South wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .                                       |
| 37. No.352 of 1916 | West wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .  |
| 38. No.365 of 1916 | East wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .  |
| 39. No.339 of 1916 | South wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .                                       |
| 40. No.359 of 1916 | North wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .                                       |
| 41. No.361 of 1916 | North wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .                                       |
| 42. No.363 of 1916 | East wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .  |
| 43. No.347 of 1916 | South wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .                                       |
| 44. No.334 of 1916 | South wall of the<br><i>ardha-maṇḍapa</i> .                                 |
| 45. No.351 of 1916 | South wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .                                       |
| 46. No.362 of 1916 | East wall of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .  |
| 47. No.367 of 1916 | Southern side of the<br><i>adhiṣṭhāna</i> of the<br>Saundaryanāyaki shrine. |
| 48. No.343 of 1916 | Wall of the inner <i>gōpura</i> .   |
| 49. No.366 of 1916 | East of the<br><i>prākāra</i> .   |

50. No.369 of 1916 West side of the  
*adhiṣṭhāna* of  
Saundaryanāyaki shrine.
51. No.336 of 1916 North side of the  
*adhiṣṭhāna* of the *ardha-*  
*mandapa*.
52. No.368 of 1916 South side of the  
*adhiṣṭhāna* of the  
Saundaryanāyaki shrine.
53. No.372 of 1916 Slab used for pre-  
paring flower garlands.

The following orthographical peculiarities are to be noted in the inscriptions of Tiruvāliṣvaram. All Sanskrit words and syllables are engraved in *grantha*. Two forms of *ya* occur in Tamil and *grantha*, one  and the other,  which is more common. The vowel *a* is not separated sometimes from the consonant to which it is added. The central loops of the consonants *nā* and *ṇa* (  and  ) are fully developed though in a few cases they are written without the loops, (  and  ). The *i* following a consonant is marked on the top left corner instead of over the letter as is generally the case in the records of the period. In the case of *ṇi*, the *i* is added over the letter and in some cases to its right side according to the shape of the letter *n*, which in many cases is not uniform.

The marks for medial *u* and *ū* are not always distinguished. *ḷu* and *mu* are also not distinguished. Except in the letters *lai* and *ḷai*, the *ai* is marked by two *e* signs written side by side of the consonant, (  ,  ,  ). The ligature *nta* is employed frequently. The palatal *ñ* (  ) is so shaped that it may be mistaken for *na* (  ). The velar *ṇa* and the syllable *ru* have similar shapes.

In the case of *Vaṭṭeluttu* records the main features are : the use of *grantha* for ligatures as *kṣai*, *sva*, *sti*, *śrī*, *hma*, *bra*, *pra*, *ddha*, *vya*, *uri* and *tta*. Sanskrit terms like *sabhā*, *vēda*, *dharma* are written in *grantha*. In *grantha* letters, the length of the vowel *i* is denoted by a mark for the vowel *ā* attached to the right of the letter. The sign for *ā* is a plain short horizontal stroke with a vertical longer stroke(7). In *Vaṭṭeluttu*, the vowel *ū* is marked by a loop below the consonant. One and the same letter is found written in different forms. The forms of *ai*, and *ya* (  ) are also to be specially noted. There is little distinction made between the the stroke for *ra* (  ) and the stroke to denote an *ā* mātra. The letters *ḷu* and *mu* are not always distinguished.

**No.1: Inscription of Rājakēsari, year 11 (A.D.996).**Script: Vaṭṭeḷuttu, with an admixture of *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Rājarājakēsaripanmaṟkku yāṇṭu patinoṇṇ āvatu ṣolan .. ..<sup>1</sup>  
kan Piṭavūr nāṭṭu ppiṭavūr-uṭaiyān Ampala.. ..
2. vāykkālukku tterku onpatāṅkaṇṇāṟṟu Tiruvāliśvaravatikku  
kilakku tenkaṭaiy kkaṇi araiy kkaṇi kōtta
3. nilam vēli nīr nilam vēlikkum oṭṭiśainta ikkaṭiṇjaikkarai Tiruvāliś-  
varattu tēvaṟkku niśadam uḷakku ney .. ..
4. vaḷikyilārkkku śantirātittaval nīr nilam variśaikkāṇiyākavum koṇṭu  
.. .. .. kkalāl vaḷiyilōrkku śantirātittaval nilam nīrai variśaik-  
kāṇiyākavum .. .. .. lam .. .. kkalāl vaḷiyilārkkku  
śantirātittaval nilam nīrai variśaikkāṇiyākavum .. .. .. lam .. ..
5. varkku ttirumu .. kku .. .. .. vēḷaikku ariśi nānāliyāka mūṇṟu  
vēḷaikku ariśi panniru nāliyum .. ..
6. kkum viṣu tīru ṣeyyum .. .. .. nāliyum kkaṟiyaṭuvā .. .. ..<sup>2</sup>

**Translation**

- 1) (In the) Year 11 of Rājakēsarivaman, ṣolan .. .. .. Ampalavan otherwise known as Piṭaru-uṭaiyān of Piṭavūr nāḍu .. ..
- 2). to the south of the irrigation channel, to the west of the ninth sluice called Tiruvāliśvaravati, land lying to the south of these two boundaries to the extent of 1/2 kkaṇi
- 3). land one vēli; this one vēli of wet land (was gifted) to this deity at Tiruvāliśvaram, on the banks of this (river) Kaṭiṇjai and for the ghee at the rate of one uḷakku per day .. ..
- 4). to the registry officials as long as the moon and the sun last, this wet land having been classed as variśaikkāṇi .. .. .. to the registry officials as long as the moon and sun last, the land as a complete registered tenancy .. .. ..
- 5). to the deity .. .. .. for a single offering four nāli of rice, for three offerings 12 nāli of rice
- 6). for the festival of Viṣu .. .. .. nāli, for the offering of kari .. .. ..

1. Two dots for each missing akṣara.

2. Damaged and the continuation is lost.

**No. 2: Inscription of Rājakēsarivarman, year 11 (A.D.996.).****Script:** *Vaṭṭeḷuttu* with an admixture of *grantha*.**Language:** Tamil.

1. Kāndaḷūr śālai kalamaruttaruliya kēvirāśakēsaripanmaṛkku yāṇṭu patinonṛāvatu Śrī Rājarāja vaḷanāṭṭu muḷli nāṭṭu brahmadēyam Śrī Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅkalattu mahāsabbhaiyār pakkaḷ ivvūr Kkhaṭiṇjaikkarai Tiruvāliśvarattu tēvatānattu koḷvatākavum ittēvarai śāntiśeyyum brāhmaṇan .. .. . iru nāliyāka āṭṭa pāṭṭam irunūṛṇu nārpattu eṇ kuṇuṇi iru nāli uriyum akanālikaiyār vaśam mutal vaṭṭam ainpatin kala nelli aḷappatākavum i
2. ttēvar kiḷakku nōkki kkaṭiṇjaikkayavil viḷuntān-kuḷavakai kāṇi .. ..  
.. itarkku tterkum ivviśainta perunāṅkellaikku .. .. . ittēvarkku niśadappaṭi akanālikaippaniśeyvārku vāṭakkaṭan āṭṭukkāṇiyāka kuṭutta innilam araiyē kāṇi muntirikaiyum nīkki niṇṇa nilat-til eḷumāvarai araikkāṇi muntirikaiyil ittēvar akanālikaiyār arc-canāpōkattukkum ivvakanālikaiyār eṇmarum itakkaṭava māṇikal nālvarkkum āka .. .. .
3. neyyāl muṭṭāmal erikka kkaṭava tirunontāvilakku oṇṇinukku in-nilam vēli nilam iraṇṭu tirunontāvilakkinukku āḷ iraṇṭukku tiri-kaiyum Śrībaliyum paḷḷi eḷucciyum uṭapaṭa maṇṇum ittēvarkku vēṇṭuvena paṇṇukku ellām kāṭṭum uvaccan āḷamaṇḷikkum nilam mūṇṇu mā mukkāṇiyum Śaṅkarapāḍiyārkkum nilan irumāvaraiyum tirumēḷukkuppuram nilan kāṇiyum tiruntā .. .. .
4. .. lam āka kaṭamai muppatin kala nellāka innilam araiyē kāṇi muntirikaiyum nāmakku .. .. .  
.. śaṅkavittēvarkku vēṇṭuvanavukku viśamāvatākavum śeyya ip-pariśu nilaniṇṇutti varavum maṇṇum vēṇṭuvanavarṇukkum kalam iṭum kuśvarkku nilan kāṇiyumāka innilam eḷumāvaraikkāṇi muntirikaiyum innivantakkāra ittēvarkku ippaṭikkum innilam muk-kālē mūṇṇu māvum ippariśu kuṭuttōm i-
5. naiyum maṇṇa śelavukku ariśi ttēvai vāriyam āka ariśi patināṇu .. .. .  
.. nciravaikku nelli eṇ kuṇuṇiyum .. .. .  
pakkam i ttēvarkku viśu ayanāṅkaḷukku viśam uṭapaṭa



6. *maṇi* .. .. *kkū* *nellu* *irunāliyum* *pūvattukku* *nellu* *uriyum* *āka*  
*ataikkāy* *amirtum* *kkuvanittiraṇṭukkum* .. .. *kkirama* .. ..  
 .. *ŚrīVānavanmahādēviccēri* .. ..<sup>1</sup>.

**Translation.**

- 1) (In the) year 11 of Rājakeśarivarman, who destroyed the ships at Kandalūr Śalai. The brāhmaṇa, who performs the ritual in the Tiruvāliśvaram temple, shall take over the *dēvadāna* land belonging to the deity of Tiruvāliśvaram, on the banks of the Kaṭiṇjai and shall measure out 50 *kalam* of paddy as the first instalment to the *akanālikai* officials towards the annual acout of 240 *kalam*, 8 *kuṟuṇi*, 2 *nāli* and one *uri* of paddy agreed upon by the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Mulli nādu in Rājarāja Valanādu.
- 2) The land called *viḷuntān-kuḷavakai kāṇi*, lying to the west of Kaṭiṇjai river .. .. to the south of this with in the four main boundaries .. ..  
 .. having set aside  $\frac{1}{2}$  *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* as a perpetual *āṇṭu-kkāṇi* to those who perform the *akanālikai* duties to this deity daily and from the remaining land  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *mā*,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *kāṇi*, and one *muntirikai* shall be enjoyed as *arcanābhōga* by the eight *akanālikayār* of this deity and also utilised for maintaining four pupils .. ..
- 3) For a perpetual lamp to be maintained without fail with ghee, land one *vēli* for two perpetual lamps and for two persons conducting the *śrībali*, preparing wicks for the lamps and for preparing the deity for the bed chamber and the other requirements of this deity; attended to by the drummer Ālamaṇji, (who was given) three *mā* and three *kāṇi*. To the Śaṅkarapādiyar  $2\frac{1}{2}$  *mā* of land as *tirumelukkū-puraṁ*.. ..
- 4) .. the tax in all being 30 *kalam* of paddy, this land  $\frac{1}{2}$  *mā*, one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* to us .. .. shall be utilised for the necessary requirements of *śaṅkavittēvar*. For maintaining this gift and for other requisites and for the potter, who supplied the pots (was set aside)  $\frac{1}{2}$  *kāṇi* of land; in all 7 *mā*,  $\frac{1}{2}$  *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* of land was set aside in addition to the  $\frac{3}{4}$  *vēli* and 3 *mā* of land gifted to this deity.
5. For other expenses and rice requirements rice 16 .. .. 8 *kuṟuṇis* of paddy and for the festival of Viṣu
- 6) .. .. paddy two *nāli*, for the *pāvam* paddy one *uri*, for the offering of betel nuts and leaves .. .. Śrī Vānavanmahādēviccēri .. ..

**No.3: Inscription dated in the year 18 (A.D. 1003).**

**Script: Vaṭṭeḷuttu with an admixture of *grantha*.**

**Language: Tamil.**

1. Svasti Śrī yāṇṭu patineṭṭāvatu Mulli nāṭṭu Śrī Rājarāja caturvēdi-  
maṅkalattu mahāsabhaiyōm .. .. . šōnāṭṭu vaṭakarai ppitavūr  
nāṭṭu ppitavūr-uṭaiyān Ampalava
2. n Iravi nam pakkal nammūr vaṭavāyil kkaṭiṇjaikku mēṟkkum  
peññūr-ppōḷikku vaṭakkum Tiruvāliśvaravatikku kkilakkum Śrī  
Vāsudēva-vāykkālukku tteṟkkum onpatān kaṇṇāṟṟu Ttiruvāli-
3. śvaravatikku kkilakku tterkataiy kkāṇiyār kāṇikku kilakku nōkki  
kkaṭiṇjai kkaivīṇta ikkāṇi araikkāṇi kkāttam uṭpata itaṟkku  
tteṟkkum ivviśainta perunāṅkella-
4. iyir kiṭanata nilattil Śrīkōyil viḷakamum kiṟamam kaḷiccu nammūr  
nilam aḷavukōlāl vilai koṇṭuṭaiya nilan vōli innilan vēlikkum  
ittīśaiyāka ikkaṭiṇjaikkarai Tiruvāli-
5. śvarattu ttēvaṟkku nittam uḷakku neyyāl muṭṭāmal aṭṭuvatāna  
neyyulakkum tirunontā viḷakku oṟṟu erikkavum innilam vēliyum  
iraṇṭu mā nilam nīkki niṇṟa nilam mukkalē mūṇṟu māvu-
6. m Tiruvāliśvarattu ttēvar akanālikaiyāṟkkum uvaccarkaḷukkum  
caṅkamātikaḷukkum uṭpata nivantakkārarkku ppitavūr-uṭaiyān  
Ampalavan Iravi kuṭutta nilam eḷu
7. māvaraiyun kkāṇi muntirikaiyu nīkki niṇṟa nilan arai
8. yē kkāṇi muntirikaiyun ittēvaṟkku ttiruvamirtuṭpata
9. veṇṭuvatukku vaṭakkataṇ māṟṟāl muppatin kala nel aṇṇāli
10. marakkālāi āṭṭa pāṭṭam munnūṟṟu irupatin kalan i-
11. ru nāli uriy nollaṭṭuvataka ippa .. .. . n niśavi pakkal i .. ..
12. varaiyē kāṇi muntirikai nilamun kāṇiyāka peṟṟu ippitavūr-u
13. taiyan Ampalavan Iravikku ivarkkum ivan anvayattāṟkkum in-  
nilam a-
14. raiy kāṇi muntirikaiyum candrādityavar kārāṇmai paṇikkavum  
ikkārāṇmai ..
15. .. nam .. .. vāriyar Tiruvāliśvarattu ttēvar Śrīkōyilir kar mēl
16. veṭṭivippārākavum paṇiccu kkaraiyiṭṭu .. .. . Śrī-šempi-

17. yanmahādēviccēri ccemayul kōvaṭi Śaṅkara bhaṭṭar paṇikka Śrī Lō-
18. kamahādēviccēri cciru .. .. rājabhayaṅkaravatikku Śrī A-
19. ruḷmolidevaccēri ilukkāntirattu Viṣṇu bhaṭṭar paṇikka Śrī Sundara-śōlaccē-
20. ri .. .. Vikkīrama bhaṭṭar .. .. ppaṇiyira paṇiccu tittu k-
21. kuṭuttōm mahāsabhaiyōm

### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! (In the) Year 18, the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Śrī Rājārāja caturvēdimāṅgalam in Muḷli nādu .. .. Ambalavan Iravi of Piṭavūr in Piṭavūr nādu, to the south of Śōnādu
- 2) (having taken) from us (land) lying in the northern gateway of our village to the west of Kaṭiṅjai and to the north of Peṇṇūr pōli, to the south of the channel called Śrī Vasudeva vaykkāl and to the east of the ninth sluice called Tiruvāliśvara
- 3) vati, the land lying to the south called *Kāṇiyār kāṇi* and to the portion running eastwards towards the Kaṭiṅjai, one *kāṇi* including  $\frac{1}{2}$  *kāṇi* of woods and to the south of this. This land lying within these four main boundaries.
- 4) after having been registered in the *śrīkōyil* properties was bought after being surveyed by the *nilam aḷavu kōl* of our village this one *vēli* of land (was given) as recompense to the deity of
- 5) Tiruvāliśvaram, on the banks of the Kaṭiṅjai (and) a perpetual lamp was to be maintained with one *ulakku* of ghee daily without fail. After setting aside this one *vēli* and two *mā* of land, the remainder of  $\frac{3}{4}$  *vēli* and three *mā*, inclusive
- 6) of land given to the *akanālikaiyār*, *uvaccar* and *sangamas* of this deity of Tiruvāliśvaram, the land gifted by Ambalavan Ravi, of Piṭavūr
- 7) after setting aside  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *mā*, one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai*, the remainder  $\frac{1}{2}$  *mā*
- 8) one *kāṇi* and one *muntirikai* (was set aside) for food offerings to this deity
- 9) and for other requirements 30 *kalam* of paddy as *vaṭākkadan*, measured by
- 10) the *marakkāl* holding five *nāli*, the yearly dues being 320 *kalam*

- 11) two *nāli* and one *uri* of paddy. This shall be rendered .. .. into the ..
- 12) having taken over  $7\frac{1}{2}$  *mā*, one *kāni* and one *munṭirikai* of land as a leasehold,
- 13)  $\frac{1}{2}$  *mā*, one *kāni* and one *munṭirikai* of land shall be held as
- 14) *kārāṇamai* as long as the moon and sun last by Ambalavan Ravi of Piṭavūr and his lineal descendants. This *kārāṇmai*..
- 15) (order) shall be engraved on the stones of the *kriṭṭōyil* of
- 16) the deity of Tiruvāliṭṭavarm by the *vāriyar* .. .. Śrī
- 17) Kōvaṭi haṅkara bhaṭṭa of Śempiyanmahādeviccēri shall act as
- 18) (a witness). .. .. of Śrī Lokamahādeviccēri .. ..
- 19) Viṣṇu bhaṭṭa, of Iṭukkantīram in Śrī Arulmolidevaccēri shall act
- 20) (as a witness). Vikkrama bhaṭṭa of Sundarabōlaccēri shall act (as a witness) .. .. having done thus arranged thus
- 21) the members of the *maḥāsabhā* gave this title deed.

**No.4 : Inscription dated in the year 18 and day 345 (A.D. 1003-1004).**

**Script:** *Vaṭṭeluttu* with an admixture of *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī yāṇṭu patinēṭṭu nāḷ munnūṟṟunārpattaṅcu Śrī Rājarāja-caturvēdimāṅgalattu mahāśabhaiyōm ivar niraivara niraṇṭu kurai vara kkūṭi iruntu .. ..
2. kūṭi enikinta<sup>1</sup> iṭam niraṭi nilaṅkollaperātākavum ivvūr .. .. vatākavum itir kūvi ēri irunta kuṭikalām marra vari taṇṭukūṟṟamum eppērpatta iraiyili kollātolivatākavum ittēvar .. ..
3. perupāṭṭam varinṭu kollā pperuvatākavum ivvūr etir kuṭikaluk-kum ippaṭi sarva parihāram paṇṇi sarvvamānyamum uṭpaṭa .. .. variyili nilattilum
4. peruvatākavum sapṭamāsaprakjñai yiṭuvār ittēaraṭiyāl iraṇṭuk-kum iṭuvatākavum ivar yiṟṟukku kaṅkāṇi samvatsaravāriyañcey-yum kaṅkāṇiyōm .. .. ku .. .. rra Maṇalittēvikku viṣu .. ..

1. Note the use of Malayalam here.



5. nnīrāṭi nalappērkuṭi vēṣikkūṭikal nimantakkāruṇ kārāṇmaikāṇi  
 .. .. . ivvāṇṭu mutal āṇṭu kūṭiyiruntu maṇṇa variyuṭpaṭa  
 eppērpattārum ivar kūṭi iruntu innālāṇṭuṇkaliccāl . . . .
6. vum vēṇṭuvana tamakku yiṣam kāṭṭuvārākavum āka ippariṣu ..  
 .. ṣeyyum .. til vanta .. .. . aḷiyappaṇintārai ppēr ppon patin  
 kalaṇṇu ttēṇḍipaliyapperuvatākavum .. .. . irakka naṭappa upāti
7. kku mēl vēṇṭum .. .. . ippariṣu maticcu kaiyyiṭṭu kkoṇṭu . . . Śrī  
 Nittara .. .. . yōme kūṭi ttēvatānattār varikkūru .. ..  
 .. .. . . . . .<sup>2</sup>

### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! (In the) Year 18 and day 345. The members of the *mahāsabhā* of Rājārāja caturvēdimāṅgalam having assembled in quorum .. .. .
- 2) (having decided) that this site with the land and irrigation facilities shall not be enjoyed by me .. .. the tenants who had settled on this land shall not be taxed with levies and other dues (on behalf) of this deity .. .. .
- 3) the incomes from these shall be enjoyed by the present tenants and the old tenants. Thus with all the privileges including the *sarvamānya* .. ..  
 .. (and) the land entered into the revenue registers
- 4) shall be enjoyed towards providing for two *dēvarāḍiyāl*, who perform the duties of *Saptamāṣaprajñai*. The *kaṇṭāṇi* and *saṃvatsara vāriyan* (member of the Annual committee) officials currently holding office .. ..  
 .. to Maralidēvi for the festival of Viṣu .. .. .
- 5) those who make the *nimandas* (regulations) among the *vēṣi* (*vaiṣya*) tenants of Nalappērkuṭi and those enjoying the *kārāṇmai-kāṇi* rights having agreed to assemble from this year onwards annually and having agreed to share all the taxes and other revenues, shall
- 6) discuss their requirements again after the expiry of four years .. .. .  
 those who cause obstruction shall be fined 10 *kalaṇṇu* of gold per head .. .. .
- 7) for the above requirements .. .. . having agreed to this and taken over .. .. .  
 .. . Śrī Nittara .. .. . the *dēvadāna* officials and those of the tax department having met .. .. .

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2. Continuation lost.

**No.5 : Pillar inscription of the Mūṇṇukai mahāsēnai.****Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śri<sup>1</sup> Śēnka .
2. mala ttirumaṭa
3. ntai<sup>2</sup> tāṁ<sup>3</sup> viru
4. mpun tiruvālar
5. tinkal śadai<sup>4</sup> k-
6. kāntapirān tirup
7. patam viruppāki
8. andha<sup>1</sup> raiklāl
9. malar tūvi an
10. pātan tolutētti
11. kkaṇṇaraṇai kkōt
12. turantu Kāṅkēyaṇai
13. kkoṇṇu Kalmāṭavum
14. kai<sup>4</sup> kkoṇṇu kaṭal Vi
15. liṇṇajamalittu<sup>5</sup> maṇukaṭal
16. aiyum alittu Mātō
17. ttam poṭiya ittu<sup>6</sup> Ma
18. lainātu koṇṇu
19. Śālai kalamaṇṇu
20. ttu innukal
21. ttalippa palapōr
22. vaṭatir Vallāṇai
23. kketinturantu Va
24. navāsi koṇṇu Ku
25. ccimalaiyān aḷi
26. ttu Uccanti koṇ
27. ṭu etirum oru tavaraki

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1. In Grantha

2. 'ai' denoted by two distinct o signs one after the other.

3. The *puḷḷi* mark is engraved like an i.

4. Different form of 'ai' with two o signs one below the other.

5. To be read as viḷiṇṇajamalittu.

6. To be read as poṭiyavittu.

28. riyālil ttalai
29. nānar etti katirko
30. n̄ta kūrmunai śi
31. ri .. .. llaiyum
32. avan .. .. ivaka .. ..
33. mannar pullicca
34. ntamum v̄luntoti kut
35. ti Vātāpiyān
36. alittu venppa
37. tai koṇṭu Puṇa
38. lai Vēntan ..
39. .. .. ..
40. Malanātanum
41. tampiyum virun
42. tamum malai tan
43. nil akapaṭitta
44. Vēṅkar kalattu
45. viritalai vaṭukarai
46. Koṅkalar Kuṭakar
47. kulakkēsariyai ta
48. n kulam alittu pā
49. n̄ti nātā pakaiyar
50. kkalinkalī Mōṇṇukai
51. Mahasē<sup>1</sup> naiyō
52. m Tiruvāliśvaramu
53. taiya tiripuratānam pa
54. n̄ina śēvakanār
55. tirumukkāl vaṭṭa
56. mum ittēvar tē
57. vatānaṅkalum pa
58. lapāni nimantakkā
59. rar Śrī<sup>1</sup> paṇṭāramum
60. Śivappirāmaṇaru
61. m tiruppaṇi śey
62. yun taccar kollaru

63. m tiruvēlaikkā
64. ran arampatai pi
65. titta pallāyi
66. ravar kāppu ivvū
67. r ttekku Ambuk
68. kōyil .. .. nke .. ..
69. mē kättānukku śantirā
70. ccapalamum āvana
71. vaka Kāḷattiyā
72. num utirapaṭṭi pāṭa
73. āṇaiyum mālaiyu
74. m ulliṭṭa ippari
75. śaraṅkaḷellām pe
76. ruvatāka aḷaippu i
77. śaippun kuṭuttōm
78. Mūṇṇukai mahāśē
79. naiyōm

#### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity!
- 2) The sacred Goddess
- 3) residing in the red lotus. who is the
- 4) favourite of (Viṣṇu)
- 5) and śiva, who wears the crescent on his hair
- 6) being fond of laying themselves at the feet of (these two Goda)
- 7) (accompanied by) the shower of flowers by women and having
- 8-10) devotedly worshipped at their feet
- 11) having made the Kannara flee
- 12) and killing the Gaṅgēya
- 13) having taken Kalmādam
- 14) having destroyed Vīḷṇjam on the sea
- 15) and the other tiny islands on the sea
- 16) having crushed Matōṭṭam and
- 17-18) taking Malai nādu
- 19) destroying the fleet at Śālai
- 20) (and) having participated in
- 21) many other battles
- 22) in the north, having



- 23) bound and crushed the Vallān
- 24) and taking Vanavāsi
- 25) destroying the ruler of Kuccimalai
- 26) taking Uccandi
- 27) and having raised the flag without
- 28) opposition at Talaiñānar, on
- 29) the mountain Dhavalagiri .
- 30) the sharp edge of the (sword)
- 31) being thrust everywhere
- 32) .. .. all these kings
- 33) and their treasures having been
- 34) surrendered
- 35) destroying the ruler of Vatāpi
- 36-37) and taking over his forces
- 38-45 the ruler of Punalai (and) ... .. the ruler of : Malai nāḍu and,  
his brother having been imprisoned in the (fortess) on the mountain,  
having subjugated the annoying *vaṭuka* at Veṅgar-
- 46-48 kaḷam (and) the Koṅgalar and Kuḍagar and having put an end to these  
lineages
- 49-51 the dauntless soldiers and the residents of the Paṇḍya nāḍu the great  
army of the three arms
- 52-66 This is the protection of Tiruvalīḍvaram, its temple and its devotees,  
who have made many gifts, the *mukkal vaṭṭam*, the *devadāna* of this  
deity and its establishment with multifarious duties, the treasury, the  
Śivabrāmaṇas, the carpenters, the stone masons and blacksmiths in the  
service of the temple, by the many thousands who captured the proud  
army of Vēḷaikkārar.
- 67-72 Having been praised in glory by the poet of Kalahasti by composing an  
*udirapaṭṭi*, for these achievements and for the protection of the Ambu  
kōvil situated to the south of the village and for enjoying the merit as  
long as the sun and moon last.
- 73-79 On an invitation for taking over all these responsibilities and being  
received with elephants and garlands, we, the Mūṇṇukai Mahāsēnai  
expressed our willingness.

**No.6: Inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya, year 11**Script: Tamil and *grantha*

Language: Tamil

Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.141.**No.7: Inscription of the time of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya.**Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.160.**No.8: Inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya, year 17, day 17 (A.D. 1037)**Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.161.**No.9: Inscription of Sundara Cōla-Pāṇḍya, year 21 (A.D. 1041-42).**Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.170.**No.10: Inscription of Vikrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya, year 25.**Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil

Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.187.**No.11: Inscription of Parākrama Cōla-Pāṇḍya, year 3.**Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.196.**No.12: Inscription of śrīvallabha, year 7.**Script: Tamil and *grantha*

Language: Tamil.

Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962 No.239.**No.13: Inscription of śrīvallabha, year 9.**Script: Tamil and *grantha*

Language: Tamil.

Reference: *S.I.I.*, XIV, 1962, No.220.

**No.14: Inscription of Māṇavarman Vikrama Pāṇḍya, year 7 (A.D. 1187).**

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> kō Māṇapaṇmarāṇa tribhu<sup>1</sup>vaṇaccakkaravattikaḷ<sup>2</sup> Śrī Vikrama Pāṇḍya dēvarḱku yāṇṭu 7 āvatu uṭaiyār Tiruvāḷisvaram uṭaiyārku
2. Rājarāja<sup>1</sup> erivīra-paṭṭaṇattu niccittakaṇṭa pperunteruvil viyāpāri parikāramaṅkalam uṭaiyān Apayampukkāṇāṇa Atirviṣiyāṭuvāṇ
3. yiṭṭa tiruppūpalakai paṇmāhēśvaraṇ<sup>3</sup> 2<sup>4</sup>

**Translation.**

- 1) Hail! prosperity! king Māṇavarman Tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Vikrama Pāṇḍya dēva, in his regnal year seven - to the deity of Tiruvāḷisvaram.
- 2) the merchant Abhayampukkāṇ otherwise known as Atirviṣiyāṭuvān of Parihāramaṅgalam (residing in) the high street called Niccittakaṇṭan in Rājarāja erivīra-paṭṭaṇam
- 3) (made a) gift of a sacred stone for perparing flowers. Let this be the protection of the *māhēśvaras*.

**No.15: Inscription of Jaṭavarman Kulaśēkhara, year 2 (A.D.1192).**

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Kō Ccaṭa<sup>2</sup>iyapanmarāṇa tripuvanacakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kulaiśēkhara<sup>3</sup> dēvarḱku yāṇṭu 2 āvatu āṇi māsam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu

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1. In Grantha.

2. The *puḷḷi* mark is engraved on top of the letter.

3. To be read as *paṇmāhēśvara rakṣai* in the case of Śiva temples. In Viṣṇu temples the phrase *Śrī vaiṣṇavar rakṣai* is used. In Buddhist or Jaina shrines the phrase *paḷḷiccangattar rakṣai* is used.

4. Punctuation mark. *Pillaiyar ṭuḷi*.

1. In grantha.

2. 'ai' with two prongs.

3. To be read as Kulaśēkhara.

uṭa<sup>4</sup>iyār Tīruālīśvaram uṭaiyār śivappirāmaṇaril uṭaiya p<sup>5</sup>illai  
Tōl<sup>6</sup>anāna Tiruttoṇṭa nampiyēn innāyanār kōyir śikāriya<sup>7</sup> tēvar-  
kanmi śīmākēśura<sup>8</sup> kaṇkāni śeyvārku uyaiyanāṭṭu<sup>9</sup> kkuṭutta pari-  
śāvatu innāyanārkkku kāttikai<sup>10</sup> paṭikku purapaṭṭu tiru ola

2. kkam śeytu amutu śeytarula Irājarāja<sup>4</sup> erivīra-paṭṭaṇattu Ammai  
Nampar iṭṭa accil nān koṇṭa accu<sup>11</sup> 1 ivvaccu oṇṇukku mātam 1 kku  
3 ku<sup>12</sup> nellu ainṇuṇiyāka pū oṇṇukku nellu irukalannē<sup>13</sup> tūṇi  
patakkum<sup>14</sup> innāyanārappan tēvatānattil en paṇkōkariyāl nilam  
aramai/variśaippaṭi nellōṭē kūṭṭi śelavukālālē alantu kuṭuppēṇā-  
kavum kārukku innilattil vilainta ellil aṇṇāṭu virra vilai  
kkuṭuppēṇāka
3. vum innilam pāl kiṭakkilum anupōkavirōtamākilum ivupaiyam<sup>15</sup>  
kuṭuppēṇākavum upaiyam muṭṭāmal ikkōyil en paṇku kālē arai-  
kālum innellukku śeluttikkolvarākavum innaṇku śitanmatānam<sup>16</sup>  
koṇṭārum innellu ippaṭi kaillilum<sup>17</sup> śempilu<sup>18</sup> veṭṭikolvarāka sam-  
matittu piṭipāṭu kuṭuttēn Tiruttoṇṭa nampiyēn ivarkaḷukku

#### Translation.

- 1) Hail! prosperity! (In the) year 2 of king Jaṭavarman Tribhuvana-  
cakravarti His Majesty Kulasekhara dēva, in the month of āṇi, the  
agreement deed given by Tiruttoṇṭa nambi otherwise known as Pillai  
Tōlan, one of the śivabrāhmaṇas in the temple of Tiruvalisaram uṭaiyār,  
the deity of Mulli nādu to the Śrikāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrīmāhēśvara

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4. Different form of 'ai'.

5. About 4" of the surface of the stone is undressed and is left blank.

6. An 'i' is engraved by mistake above the letter. Probably the scribe wanted to inscribe 'tōli' instead of 'tōlan'.

7. To be read as Śrikāryam.

8. To be read as Śrīmāhēśvara.

9. To be read as ubhaiyam iṭṭu.

10. To be read as karttikai.

11. Expressed by a symbol.

12. Contraction for kuruni.

13. To be read as irukalanē.

14. 'Pulli' marks used to denote the anusvara.

15. To be read as ivvubhaiyam.

16. To be read as Śrī dharmadānam.

17. To be read as kallilum.

18. To be read as śembilum.



kaṅkāṇi officers of the temple. For the food offering and processional festivities of this deity

- 2) from the endowment of 1 *accu* made by Ammai nambar of Rājarāja erivira-paṭṭanam. For this 1 *accu* the interest per month being 5 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy and for the *pū* (pūja) two *kālam*, one *tūṇi* and one *pataṅku* of paddy and also my share in the *dēvadāna* land belonging to this deity namely  $\frac{1}{2}$  *mā* including the yield of paddy measured out by the *śelavu kōl*, shall be remitted into the temple along with current price of mustard raised from the land in the *kār* season.
- 3) Even in case this land becomes waste or is without any profitable returns, I agree to render this gift without hindrance along with my share of  $\frac{3}{8}$  of temple land to be classified as *dharmadāna* by the officials and surrender the paddy as long as the sun and moon last. After having consented to their engraving this transaction on stone and copper thus, I, Tiruttonḍa nambi gave them the agreement deed.

**No.16: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman kulaśēkhara, year 3 (A.D.1193).**

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti śrī<sup>1</sup> Tiruāykeṅvikku<sup>2</sup> mēl kō Cceṭaiyaanmarāna tiripuvana-  
śakkaravattikaḷ<sup>3</sup> Śrī<sup>1</sup>
2. Kulaiśēkara<sup>4</sup> dēvarkku yāṇṭu mūṇṟāvatu Mulli nāṭṭu<sup>5</sup> brahma-  
dēs<sup>1</sup> a Śrī Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅkalattu .. .. .
3. ttāṅcēri kirāmarāśan tirumaṭattukku ivvūr nicciccakaṇṭa perun-  
teruḷ irukku .. .. . ḷ.
4. lāyiram uṭaiyān Śēvakattēvan mähēśvararkku amāvāsi tōṟum  
pattu kālam amutu še.
5. yvitāka immaṭattil śīyar piḷḷaikaḷil uṭaiya piḷḷaiyāṇṭārāna Akōra-  
tēvarum Tiruvālavāy uṭaiya.

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1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as *Tiruvāykeḷvikku*.

3. To be read as *Tribhuvanacakṛartikaḷ*.

4. To be read as *Kulaśēkhara*.

5. The ligature 'ṭu' is engraved below the line.

6. yarāna Nēttira tēvarum kunicca pillayāna Śatāśiva tēvarum ivarṇai  
pillaikalil Tirucciṛrampalam uṭai
7. yānum Atirvīśiyātuṇṇarumarum ivvanaivarum śantirātittaar  
amutu śeyya kaṭavarāka kaikkonṭa ac
8. cu iranṭum kaikonṭu kaṭu vetṭi kuṭuttōm ivvanaivōmum

**Translation.**

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order of king Jaṭavarman Tribhuvana
- 2) cakravarttin His Majesty Kulaśekhara dēva, in the year 3
- 3) to the Grāmarājan *maṭha* situated in Rajarāja caturēdimanṅalam, a  
*brahmadēya* in Muḷli nādu
- 4) (a gift) by Sēvaka dēva, residing in the high streed called Niccittakaṇṭan  
of this village to the *mahaśṭvaras* for food offerings on ten occasions  
on every *amāvāsya* (new moon).
- 5) Among the sons of the *Jīyar* of this *matha* (were) Aghōradēva, the son  
of Uṭaiya pillaiyār Tiruvālavāy uṭaiyān
- 6) (and) Sadāśivadēva, the eldest son of Nētradēva and among their sons  
Tirucciṛrambalam uṭaiyān
- 7) and Atirvīśiyātuṇṇ. All these agreed to render the service of food offer-  
ings as long as the sun and moon last against the
- 8) two *accu* taken by them. (This) was engraved on stone.

**No.17: Inscription of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara, year 3 opposite  
the year 4 (A.D.1196).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Pūvinkilatti mēvi viṇṇiruppa mētinimātu nītiyir puṇar-  
vayar pōr maṭantai aiyaṇṇuṭṭ-tiruppamara kkalai maṭantai vākkiniḷ  
vilāṅka tiśaiyiru nāṅkumiśai nilā veriya maṇai neṇi vaḷara manu  
neṇi tikala maṇai neṇi ccamayaṅkalārum talaiya kānal vēṅkaiyai  
vilalaṭantu mīnan kali kāśalattu viṇṇiruya ēṇakiri śūṇantaḷēka eḷu  
pōḷil veṅkuṭai nilal śeṅkōḷ naṭappa koṭuṅkali naṭunari neṭumpil  
ttoniya villavar śempiyar virāṭavar pallavar ti

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1. In *grantha*.

2. *raiyaṭan muṛai muṛai paṇiya iru nemiyalavu moruneṭi yōṅka innalutakiya innamutākiya iyaliṣai nāra maṇṇi vaḷar maṇi muṭi sūṭi viḷaṅkiya maṇiyāṇi vīrasimhāsanattu viṭṭiruntaruḷiya Śrī Kō Ccātaiyapaṇmarāna tribhuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kulaśēkara-dēvarkku yāṇṭu 3 vatin etir nālāmāṇṭu kaṇṭaka nāyarru pat-inmūṇṇāṇ tiyatiyum pūrva pakṣā<sup>1</sup>ttu tuvaḍeṣiyum tiṅkaḷ kkiḷamaiyum peṇṇa kēṭṭai nāl Mulli nāṭṭu piramadēsam Śrī Irāsarāsa caturvēdimāṅkalattu māsapaiyōm<sup>2</sup> innāṭṭu uṭa<sup>3</sup>iyār Tiruvāliṣvaram uṭa<sup>4</sup>iya*
3. *kōyil piḷḷaiyār śaṇṭēsurapiḷḷaiyārku tirumaṭavilākamāka viṭṭukkuṭutta nilattukku perunāṇ kellaivāvatu ānaiyōṭu vāsalilē niṇṇu uṭaiyār Tiruvāliṣvaram uṭaiyār kōyilukku ppōkira peruvalikku mēṛkkum ttennellai peruvalikke niṇṇu kiḷṭtalayāl terku nōkki. nārpattinārkōl ellaiyil nāṭṭina tiruccūlakallukkum mēṛ talaiyal ippōḷiyilē niṇṇa terku nōkki nā*
4. *ṛptinkōl ellaiyil nāṭṭina<sup>5</sup> kkallukku vaṭakkum āka ittiruccūlakallu iraṇṭu vaṭakkum mēḷ ellai mun tēvatānattil kīḷ irakāriyavalikkolukāl nōkkattukku kkiḷakkum vaṭa ellai pōḷikku tterkum innānkellaikkutpaṭṭa taṇaiyum ittaṇaiyil mēnōkkina maramum kīnōkkina kiṇarum ippōḷiyum uṭpaṭa viṭṭu kkuṭuttōm Śrī Irāja*
5. *irāja caturvētimāṅkalattu mā sabhaiyōm ippaṭi viṭṭu kuṭutta iraikkū pporuṭṣelavāvitū ittēvaṛku muṇṇāvatu Tirumaṇikkayattilē uṭaiyāṇ aṇivimuntāy perupāṇi prapantattile niṇṇiṭattu aṇiṣittēvaikkum akara-ttuṇṭattukkun tayilāṭal mutaliyār irāsaṅkapanmarku viṭṭu kkuṭutta innilattuk-*
6. *ku ituvē vilaiyōlaiyum poruṭ celavōlaiyum āvatākavum ituvallātu vēṇṇu vilaimāvaṇṭi pporuṭcelavōlai kāṭṭavum kāṇavum kaṭamai yiṇṭuttu vilaikkura viṭṭu pporuḷaṇa kkoṇṭu viṭṭu vilaiṇṇam paṇṇa kkuṭuttōm śaṇṭēsurapiḷḷaiyārku Śrī Irājarāja caturvēdimāṅkalattu māsapaiyōm innānkellaikkutpaṭṭa taṇai kulaśēkaran tirumaṭavilākam eṇṇu ēṇṇi*
7. *kkoḷvārākavum innānkellakaḷile tiruccūlakallu nāṭṭikkōḷārākavum ippaṭi kalliluṇcempilum vēṭṭikkōḷvārākavum ippaṭi samatittu viṭṭu*

2. To be read as *mahāsabhaiyōm*.

3. 'ai' with two prongs one after the other.

4. Different form of 'ai' as a single letter.

5. Space for three *akṣaras* is left blank here.

- kuṭuttōm Śrī Irāja Irāja catuvētimaṅkalattu<sup>1</sup> māsapaiyōm ivai Pāppākuṛicci Ttāmō.aran āṭkonḍavilli sōmayāji eḷuttu ivai kōṛōvi Poliyaniṇṇān eḷuttu ippaṭikkivai Ātanūr Tiruveṅkāṭan tiruvirāmi-
8. tan eḷuttu Tiruvellārai Śivadēvan Śīkayilāuam uṭaiyān eḷuttu ippaṭikku ivai kōṛōvi ilaiya Śīkumāran eḷuttu ivai Tirunālūr Nārāyaṇan Śrīkṛṣṇan eḷuttu ippaṭikk-ivai Nallūr Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan eḷuttu ivai Pūvanūr Nārāyaṇa sōmayāji eḷuttu ivai Tiruputtūr araiṣu Tirumāliṛuṅcōlai Nārāyaṇan eḷuttu ivai Iṇāṅkōkkuṭi Sundarattōḍuḍaiyān Tirumayānattāṭi
9. kaḷ eḷuttu ivai Ullūr sōmāsi<sup>2</sup> Nārāyaṇa sarvakratu eḷuttu ivai Emappōlūr Pāṇṭavatūtan eḷuttu ivai Emappērūr Vīran Śrīkṛṣṇan eḷuttu ivai Tiruputtūr koṇṇavilli Nārāyaṇan eḷuttu ivai Umiyūr Kēsavan eḷuttu ippaṭikku
10. ivai kōṛōvi Śōlaippirān Pōyapillai eḷuttu ippaṭikku ivai .. .. Śrīrāma bhaṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭikku ivai Paraviniṇṇān eḷuttu ivvūr Tuṇappili Sarvakratu śrī Kṛṣṇan eḷuttu ivai Veṅkaṭa parpanāpan<sup>3</sup> Śrī Kṛṣṇan eḷuttu ippaṭikku ivai aṭappil si<sup>4</sup> Kīruṣṇan eḷuttu ivai Dēvadēvēśan eḷuttu ivai Iṛaiyāṅcēri Śrī Kṛṣṇan eḷuttu ippaṭikku
11. ṇān<sup>5</sup> Tirumāliṛuṅcōlai Nārāyaṇan eḷuttu ippaṭikku ivai Matuvāliśvaran Senpakanampiy=eḷuttu ivai pūtanūr sīkittan eḷuttu Vīrasvāmi sōmāsi paṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭi arivēn Nālūr tēvar ilaiya-perumāl eḷuttu ivai pattaṅki Sīkittan<sup>6</sup> eḷuttu ivai Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan eḷuttu ivai Yītaiyāṛṛukkuṭi Suppiramaṇiya sīkittan eḷuttu ivai Uṇuppūr uṭaiyār Śrīkailāsam uṭaiyān sōmayājiyār makan Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan eḷuttu ivai k-
12. Kaṅcai Keruṭatātan<sup>7</sup> eḷuttu ippaṭikku Kāṭṭukkarai Viṣṇuvin eḷuttu iṛaiyārku Kāliyarāyan eḷuttu Iṛayyūr Gōvinda śarman makan Sīkumāran<sup>8</sup> eḷuttu ivai kōṛōvi Ālavantān eḷuttu .. .. vanta śāttu

1. To be read as *Śrī Rājārāja caturvēdimṅgalattu*.

2. To be read as *Sōmayāji*.

3. To be read as *Padmanābhan*.

4. To be read as *Śrī*.

5. Note the use of Malayalam here.

6. To be read as *Śrī Kṛṣṇan*.

7. To be read as *Garuḍa dāsan*.

8. To be read as *Śrī Kumāran*.



ippaṭṭikku ivai Sīkaṇṭa<sup>6</sup> āṭkoṇḍavilli eḷuttu ſentirattu Alaṇcakoṇari  
Yānadēvar<sup>7</sup> eḷuttu ippaṭṭikku ivai tuṟappil ſaṅkara Nārāyaṇa  
paṭṭaccōmāsi<sup>8</sup> eḷuttu ivai Muṭṭilāl Nārāyaṇa paṭṭan eḷut

13. tu ippaṭṭi aṟivēn Kīranūr Ātica paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Umiyūr Dēvēsan  
eḷuttu ivai Vasuvākai<sup>9</sup> Nārāyaṇan eḷuttu ivai Mātuvāli ālvān eḷuttu  
iva paṭṭaṅki Eccamūrti<sup>10</sup> eḷuttu ivai pōṅkuri Mātavan eḷuttu ivai  
Kuṇṭṭi Anantanārāyaṇa paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai ppaṭṭūr Mātēva sōmāsi  
eḷuttu ivai Nāraṇamaṅkalattu Tirumayan eḷuttu ivai Vemparrūr  
Nārāyaṇan paṭṭa akōtirāri<sup>11</sup>
14. luttu ivai tōṟṟattu Tāmōtiran eḷuttu ivai .. .. Tāmōtiran eḷuttu  
ivai sōmāsi Paḷlikoṇṭān eḷuttu ippaṭṭikku ivai viḷuppōlai Sīkiṇṇan<sup>12</sup>  
eḷuttu Oānūr akirāttirāti<sup>13</sup> Sīkiṇṇan eḷuttu ivai Iṭaiyāṟṟu nampi  
Sikiṇṇamātēva paṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭṭikku ivai Iṭaiyāṟṟukkuṭi Tēva-  
tēvēsan eḷuttu ivai Dānūr Śiṅkō Kumārasuvāmi<sup>14</sup> eḷuttu ivai  
Mīyutantai Tivākaran eḷuttu ippaṭṭikku ivai Ārūr .. ..<sup>15</sup>

#### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! Lakṣmī seated on a lotus bestowing grace, the Goddess  
of the Earth having united with righteousness and the Goddess of the  
war turning away in wonder, the Goddess of learning shining forth in  
words and speech, all the eight quarters being flodded with moonlight  
of the growth of knowledge, the ways and laws of Manu shining with  
lustre, all the religious denominations luxuriously flourishing, the kali  
of the Mīna (Paṇḍya) having destroyed the scent of the Veṅgai (the  
Coḷa), (after) reducing Ēṇagiri to a vaccum and holding the sceptre with  
the protective shade of the white umbrella covering the quarters of the  
earth from the terrible kali age sweeping for a long time and the kings  
Śembiyan, Virāta and Pallava having come unto submission over and  
over again.

6. To be read as Śrīkaṇṭha.

7. To be read as Jnānadēvar.

8. To be read as bhaṭṭa sōmayāji.

9. There is an 'i' engraved on the top of 'ka'.

10. To be read as Yajñamūrti.

11. To be read as ahōrātrin.

12. To be read as Śrī Kṛṣṇan.

13. To be read as ahōrātrāti.

14. To be read as Kumārasvāmi.

15. Incomplete.

- 2) without even the slightest delay and the sweet and tasty *Iyal* and *Itai* growing, and adorned by the crown set with rubies and shining with his consort and after having ascended the heroic lion based throne decorated with rubies and bells, His Majesty king Jaṭavarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Kulasekhara dēva in his year 4 opposite the third (seventh), *karkāṭaka* 13, the *dvādaśi* the 12th day of the *pūrva pakṣa*, Monday, *Jyēṣṭhā nakṣatra*
- 3) the four boundaries of the land sold as *tirumadaivilāgam* to the Caṇḍeśvara of the temple of Tiruvāliśvaram by the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅalam, a *brahmadēya* in Mulli nāḍu were to the west of the highway running to the south towards the temple of Tiruvāliśvaram from the gateway called *Ānaiyōṭu vāṭal*, the southern boundary being the eastern limit of the highway running to the south of the boundary established by fixing stone with *triśūla* marks, (after survey) by the *nārpatinār kōl* (rod measuring 44 feet), and the northern limit of the boundary stone as fixed (after survey) by the *nārpatin kōl* (rod measuring 40 feet). which is a depression facing south
- 4) and to the north of these two stones with *triśūla* marks; the western boundary lying to the east of the stream running near the pathway called *Irakāriyavali*, situated to the east of the former *dēvadāna* lands; the northern boundary lying to the south of the depression and with all the ground within these four boundaries. with the trees that stood on the site and the spring wells, all these was sold
- 5) by the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅalam. For these rights, the monetary stipulation being 20 *accu* having been given to Rājāṅgavarōan from the king's camp at Tirumanikkayal for the requirements of rice for the *agrātuṇḍam* (offering of food) to this deity and for the recitation of the *prabhandā* before the deity on the occasion of the third anniversary of the *kalyāṇōtsava*; and for the land thus sold
- 6) this alone shall be the sale-deed and the receipt without any other document (authorising) the collection of dues and incomes and after taking the money and having sold this land, we arranged this sale deed to be prepared by Caṇḍeśvara (the agent for all transaction in a śiva temple), the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅalam. The area within these four boundaries shall be named as Kulasekharan *tirumadaivilāgam*.
- 7) (and the buyer) shall plant stones with *triśūla* marks on the four boundaries. Having agreed thus the members of the *mahāsabhā* of Rājarāja

caturvēdimaṅgalam effected the sale. This is the signature of Dāmōdaran Ātkoṇḍavilli sōmayāji of Pappākuriḥci. (The following are the other signatories of the transaction). Kōṟōvi Poḷiyaninṟān; Tiruveṅkaṭan Tiruvīramitan of Ātanūr;

- 8) Śivadēvan Śrīkailāsam uṭaiyān of Tiruvellārai; Kōṟōvi Śrīkumāran; Nārāyaṇan Śrī Kṛṣṇan of Tirunallūr, śaṅkaranārāyaṇan of Nallūr; Nārāyaṇa sōmayāji of Pūvanūr; Tirumāliruṅjōlai Nārāyaṇan of Tirupputtūr;
- 9) Sundarattōḍu uṭaiyān Tirumayaṇattadīkal; sōmayāji Nārāyaṇa sarvakratu of Ullūr; Paṇḍavadūtan of Emappōlūr; Vīran Śrī Kṛṣṇa of Emapperūr; Kōṟṟavilli Nārāyaṇan of Tirupputtūr; Kēṭavan of Uniyūr;
- 10) Kōṟōvi Śōlaippirān Pōya Pillai Śrīrāma bhaṭṭa; Paravininṟān; sarvakratu Śrī Kṛṣṇa; Veṅkaṭa Padmanabhan Śrī Kṛṣṇan of the *aḍaiṭṭu*; Devadēva-  
śan; Śrī Kṛṣṇan of Irāiyaṅcēri;
- 11) Tirumāliruṅjōlai Nārāyaṇan; Matuvālīśvaran senbhaga nambī; Pattāṅki Śrī Kṛṣṇan; Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan; Subrahmanya Śrī Kṛṣṇan of Idaiyāṟṟukkuṭi; Śaṅkaranārāyaṇan, son of Śrī Kailāsam uṭaiyān sōmayāji of Uruppūr;
- 12) Garuḍa dāsa of Kaṅcai; Viṣṇu of Kāṭṭukkarai; Kōṟōvi Ālavandān; Śrīkanṭha Ātkoṇḍavilli; Āḷaṅjakōnari of Śendiram; Śaṅkaranārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa sōmayāji of the *tuṟappu*; Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭan of Muṭṭilāl.
- 13) Thus I know Āditya bhaṭṭan of Kīranūr; Devēṣan of Umiyūr; Vasuvakai Nārāyaṇan; Madhuvāli ālvān; Pattāṅki Yajñamūrti; Mādhavan of Pōṅkuri; Anantanārāyaṇa bhaṭṭan of Kuṇṭūr; Mahādēva sōmayāji of Paṭṭūr; Tirumayan of Nārāyaṇamaṅgalam; Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭa ahōrātrin of Vempārrūr;
- 14) Dāmōdaran of Tōṟṟam; Dāmōdaran ; Sōmayāji Paḷlikoṇḍān; Śrī Kṛṣṇan of the *viḷuppolai*<sup>1</sup>; ahōrātrin Śrī Kṛṣṇan of Nānūr; Śrī Kṛṣṇa mahādēva bhaṭṭan or Idaiyāṟṟu nambī; Devadēvaṣan of Idaiyāṟṟakkuṭi; Siṅkō Kumārasvāmi of Nānūr; Divākaran of Mīyūṭantai; .. .. of Ātūr<sup>2</sup>

1. This seems to be the old records department.

2. Incomplete and damaged.

**No.18: Inscription of Jaṭavarman Kulaśekhara, year 9 opposite the the first (A.D.1199).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti śrī<sup>1</sup> Kō Ccāṭaiyapanmarāna tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ<sup>2</sup>  
Śrī Kulaśēkaratēvarku yāṇṭu 9 tāvattin etirāmāṇṭu Muḷḷi nāṭṭu  
Śrī Rā
2. jarāja caturvētīmaṅkalattu uṭaiyār Tiruvāḷiśvaram uṭaiya nāya-  
nār kōyilil kumpittirukkum-āṇṭārkaḷ pūjittirukkum kirāmarājan  
tiru maṭattile
3. enka nāyanār uṭaiya piḷaiyāṇṭār tirunāl tiruvōṇattu nāl itarketirā-  
māṇṭu appaṣi māsam mutal māsam oṇṇukku aiṁpatu tirup-
4. poḷutu śeyvatāka Malai maṇṭalattu Āḷūrkun ṛan Tēvanānasampan-  
tenēn<sup>3</sup> iṭṭa accu pattu ivvacu pattukkum accu oṇṇukk-upaiya
5. māka māsam oṇṇukku nellu aiṅkuṇṇiyāka āṇṭoṇṇukku nellu  
aiṅkalamāka accu pattukum nellaimapatin kalamum upaiya-
6. ttukku accu koṇṭā pirāmiṇar pakkalē pūvāntōṇum varanki<sup>4</sup> ic-  
cantānattil Ttirutoṇṭan immāsamutal amutu śeyvippārkaḷānamai-  
kku kalvetṭina paṭi itu panmāhēsura rakṣai

#### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! King Jaṭavarman Tribhuvanaccakravarti His Majesty  
Kulaśekhara dēva (in the) year opposite to the year 9 (year 10)
- 2)
- 3-4) A gift of 10 *accu* by Āḷurkunran Dēva Jñānasambandhan of Malai  
maṇḍalam for the provision of food offerings on fifty occasions during  
the festival on the day of Tiruvōṇam from the month of Aippasi in the  
Grāmarājan *maṭha*, attached to the temple of Tiruvāḷiśvaram in Rājarāja  
caturvēdimaṅgalam in Muḷḷi nāḍu, where the pilgrims of the temple  
worship. For this 10 *accu*, the income from one *accu*
- 5) per month being 5 *kuṇṇi* of paddy or 5 *kalam* per annum per *accu*. 50  
*kalam* for 10 *accu*

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1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as Tribhuvanaccakravartikaḷ.

3. To be read as Deva Jñānasambandhanēn.

4. Note the use of Malayalam here.



- 6) shall be rendered into the hands of the brāhmaṇa, who took over the money from this month for maintaining the food offerings as per the (conditions) of the engraving on stone. This is the protection of the Mahēśvara.

**No.19: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara, year 3 opposite the year 7 and day 2690 (A.D.1246 ?).**

Script: Tamil and grantha.

Language: Tamil

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Pūtalavanitai yētti viḷaṅka mantirapil malar makal śayappaḷaiya malar tām viyappa tantu ppāṭalaṟu śirappaṭaiya munnōnti yēliśai nāṭakan=ēlitōṭēr vaḷara vaṅcinankuru matakalirivarnda vōncina vēṅkai villuṭan oḷippa tattatippaṭutta ccakkara-
2. ṇcelutta mānilam pāttivar potu aṟa tteyva mērwvāl śeya viḷaiyāṭa oṇaru puri neru śātti iruvakai ppiṟappin munnūlamārpīnān maṟaiyāl aṟamāka viṣumpin vānaka muḷutum yāka vēḷvi iṭar torum iyal aiṁpula nāṭakkum arumai śāṇṟu vakai cce-
3. li porum paṭai kuccaṭan pulampa mupōḷal kavitta muḷumati kkav- itai ttirunivaśorita virunilavaraippin vēṅkali kaṭintu šeṅkōl naṭ- appa viṇporu sī kāmāra tiruveṇ keṭṭē .. .. . makalo .. .. latu kaṇṭattu yāvulaḥē<sup>2</sup> tiru āṇṭār valaṅki aruttinar kā
4. ṭṭa paṇittiṭa muṭimēl aṇimalar kūṭṭi maṇi muṭi śūṭa vaḷar vati mukavari śērar śempiyar tānaṅkiśaiṭṭa vīraśiṅkāsanattu mōrunā- panē kaṭṭalam ilavāka naṭatti kaḷalūṭan muṭi śūṭi .. .. . pōṟṟa ccerumalar tām aṇiyāṭa pala vēntar aṭi kattōlum āka munaiyārat- oṟi neṟi ka.
5. nkaṇantōṭi makalir tilakar tala .. .. vaṭivaikkum ulakamuḷutūṭai- yārōṭum viṇṇirentaruliya māmutal aṭikkāl viḷaṅkiya tērmuṭal Kō Ccāṭaiyapanmarāna tiripuvanacakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Kulaśēkara tē- varku yāṇṭu mūṇṟāvatīn etir ēḷāmāṇṭu mārhaḷi māsaṭtu yirupatān tiyatiyum nēyirṟu kkaḷamai
6. yum śattamiyum peṟṟa uttirattāṭi nāl 2690<sup>2</sup> tirupavanaccakkara- vatti Kōṇērinmaikoṇṭān Tiruvālīśvarattu tēvekanmikaḷukkum

1. In grantha.

2. Expressed by numerical symbols.

- īānattārkkum innāyanārkkū amutupaṭi ariṣi kutti varukiṛa tē-  
varaṭiyār vaṣam nelvittu ariṣi alavu kolka ituvē piṭipātā
7. Ka koṇṭu kallile veṭṭi kkuṭutta ippaṭi ṣeyvippatāka nām ṣirukkan  
kilai poti viṭṭōm ippaṭikku Ccaiyarāyan eḷuttu nān .. ..  
.. .. tiruvāymoḷintaruḷittu Mulli nāṭṭu utaiyār Tiruvāḷisvaram  
utaiya nā
8. yanār kōyil mēr ttalai Ccuttamallimaṅkalattu Śrī urudra / sī  
māhēśvararōm eṅkaḷukku yikkōyilil tēvaraṭiyārai kkoṇṭu innā-  
yanārkkū amutupaṭi ariṣi kutti alappippatenṇu nānē prasātaṅ-cey-  
taruḷiya tirumukamum ṣētuṅka nāṭṭu tiruvaṭikaḷ santānapaṭiyum.
9. yi ttēvaraṭiyārkkū cantirātittar uḷḷa pakkal amutupaṭikku ariṣi  
kutti yaḷappārhaḷāka kkal veṭṭi kkuṭukkav-eṇṇu oṅkaḷukku tiru-  
mukam tantu nāṅkaḷum kōyil piccā mutalikaḷukkun innāyanār  
ṣiypaḷḷai- kaḷuṅ kūṭi yiruntu tiramukappaṭiyēy kalveṭ-
10. ṭi kkuṭuttamaikku ippaṭi ariṣi kuttum iṭattu paṇṭāṇṭu vaḷi naṭai  
vitta nellukku kkuṛavān kūli kkalattukku kuṛuṇiyāka koṇṭu aṅcil  
iraṇṭin kīḷ uḷḷa ariṣi variyara kutti ppalakai talaiyilē yaḷappārka  
avum ippaṭikku Arulāla Nā-
11. ṛpettenṇāyira ceikaraṇattān<sup>4</sup> eḷuttu ikkōyil taccāsāriyan koṇṇan  
Ponmalai āna Tiruttonḍa ācāriyan eḷuttu<sup>5</sup>

### Translation

#### 1 - 5) Euology of the king.

- 5) King Jaṭāvarman tribhuvanacakravartin His Majesty Kulasekhara  
dēva (in the) year 3 opposite the year 7, Mārgaḷi (Mrgaṣīṛṣa) 20, Sunday  
6) and saptamī (seventh tithi), uttirattadi (uttara āśāḍha), and day 2690.  
Tribhuvanacakravarti Kōṇērinmaikoṇḍan's letter of authority to the  
devakanmi and trustees of Tiruvāḷisvaram to the effect that they may  
take the (responsibility) of measuring out the paddy to the devaṛḍiyār  
of the temple who pound the rice for the food offerings to this deity  
and receive the rice for the food offerings to this deity (from them) after  
taking this as the letter of authorisation
- 7) and having caused this to be engraved on stone and carried out accord-  
ingly we (the following) make this known as *ṣirukkan kilai poti*. Thus

3. To be read so Śrī Rudrar.

4. To be read as śrī karaṇattān.

5. Punctuation mark expressed by a *Pillaiyār tuḷi*.

this is the signature of Jayarājan. I, .. .., having taken the royal order

- 8) that the *dēvarāḍiyār* of the temple of Tiruvāliśvaran, in Muḷli nāḍu shall be made to measure out the pounded rice for food offerings to the Śrirudras and Śrī mähēśvaras of Suddhamallimaṅgalam, situated in the northern limit of the temple, and, having personally carried it out through the royal order and by the lineal right of the king of Jayatuṅga nāḍu,
- 9) that these *dēvarāḍiyār* shall pound and measure out the rice for food offerings and that this shall be engraved on stone, as per the royal order issued to us, we along with the *mudalis* of the Bhikṣā (maṭha) and the *jīyar* of this deity having assembled
- 10) had this engraved on stone according to the royal order. Thus the wages for pounding the rice are as of old at the rate of one *kuṟuṇi* per *kalam* and the *dēvarāḍiyār* shall measure 2/5 after pounding in the court yard of the temple. Thus
- 11) this is the signature of th temple accountant Arulāla Nārpaṭṭeṇṇāyiravan. This is the signature of the chief carpenter Korran Ponmalai Tīruttonḍā-cāryan.

#### **No.20: Inscription of Tribhuvanacakravartī Kulaśēkhara.**

Script: Tamil and *Grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Remarks: The inscription is very badly preserved and very little can be made out. It seems to refer to the year 13 opposite the year 14 of the king and also to a gift of some money by a *dēvarāḍiyār* to the temple.

#### **No.21: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara.**

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Remarks : This inscription is unfinished and cites the first three lines of the *praśasti* of the king beginning with the words 'pūtalavanitai' (cf No.19).

**No.22: Inscription of Jaṭāvaṃṃan Kulaṣekhara.**

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Remarks: Unfinished. The inscription cites the first two lines of the *prastāhi* of the king beginning with the words 'Pūtalavanitai'. (cf. No. 19.)

**No.23: Inscription of Śrī Kulaṣekhara.**

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Remarks: The inscription is very badly preserved and not many details can be made out. It seems to cite the *prastāhi* of the king and also to a gift of money.

**No.24 : Inscription of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, Year 4 (A.D. 1219)**

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Kō Māravanmarana tirupuvanaccakkaravattikaḥ śrī<sup>1</sup> ṣōnātukonṭaruliya Suntara Pāṇḍiya dēvaṛku yā<sup>2</sup>ṇṭu
2. nālāvatu Mulli nāṭṭu uṭaiyār kōyilil śivappirāminan Paṭṭana uṭaiya pillaiyāna Nālāyira paṭṭa<sup>3</sup>
3. nēn śikāriyam<sup>4</sup>śeyvār Tiruvāliśvaramuṭaiya<sup>5</sup> tēvakanmikaḥ śrī-māyēśura<sup>6</sup> kaṅkāṇi Śeyvārkkku tīṭṭu kuṭutta pariśā
4. vatu kāttikai māṣattu aviṭṭattu nāl purapaṭṭaruli eluntaruḥ amutu śeytaruḥ paṇṇavi-
5. ttu Palliccēy Vikkiranman Āticcatēvanāna Akōradvar itṭa accu onṇu nān kaikkonṭē
6. n onṇukku palīśai ulakku nellu aiṅkalamum en paṅkil vilai orṇi tanmaśātanam kā

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1. In *grantha*.

2. Tripartite form of 'ya'.

3. To be read as bhaṭṭan wherever paṭṭan occurs.

4. To be read as Śrī kāryam.

5. Engraved above 'dēvakanmi' and below kōyil in lines 2-3.

6. To be read as māhēśvara.



7. *ṇiyānālum ivvuṭai nellui munnāka cceluttuvarākavum immāmattu muppatānti-*
8. *yati Tiruvampalam uṭaiyār purapaṭṭaruli amutu űeytaruḷa innāy-anār aṭiyān Ālumpirān Amuta*
9. *pperumālāna Avani Nārāyaṇa paṭṭan iṭṭa accu oṇṇum űiriyān Ulakuṭaiyānāna Tiruñāna*
10. *sampanta paṭṭanēn nān kaikkonṭu āṇṭu oṇṇukku upaiyam ālap-pēnāna nellu aiṅkala*
11. *mum mutalikaḷukku ippaṭṭikku ivai paṭṭana uṭaiya piḷḷaiyāna Nāl-āyira paṭṭan eluttu űiriyān Ula*
12. *kuṭaiyānāna Tiruñānasampanta paṭṭan eluttu<sup>1</sup>*

### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! King Māravarman tribhuvanacakravarti Sudara Paṇḍya dēva, who was pleased to take Cōla nāḍu and represent it (in) his year
- 2) four, Nālāyira bhaṭṭa or Paṭṭana uṭaiya piḷḷai, a Śivabrāhmaṇa in the temple of the deity of Muḷḷi nāḍu (gave an agreement to)
- 3) the űrikāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēṣvara kaṅkāṇi officials of the temple of Tiruvāḷēvaram
- 4) (to the effect that) he will measure 5 *kalam* and one *uḷakku*
- 5) of paddy, being the interest on one *accu* endowed by Vikraman
- 6-8) Ādityan of Paḷliccēy for the food and processional festivities of the deity on the day of the dhanīṣṭhā *nakṣatra* in the month of Karttikai. (The paddy shall be measured) on the 30th day of the month in advance, after setting apart his share.
- 9-12) (Another) endowment of one *accu* for the food offerings to the deity by Amuda perumāḷ Avani Nārāyaṇa bhaṭṭan was taken over by Ulakuṭaiyān Tiruñānasambandha bhaṭṭan, who was to render 5 *kalam* of paddy to the *mudalis*. Thus this is the signature of Nālāyira bhaṭṭan or Paṭṭana uṭaiya piḷḷai. The signature of Ulakuṭaiyān Tiruñānasambandha bhaṭṭan.

1. The full stop represented by a *Piḷḷaiyār űuḷi*.

**No.25: Inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, Year 5, makara 4, su. di. 2, Dhaniṣṭha (Monday, 28th December A.D. 1220).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Kō Māṇavanmarāna tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ Šō-nāṭu koṇṭaruliya Śrī Sundara Pāṇṭiya tēvarku yāṇṭu 5 vatu makara nāyirṟu nālāntiyatium
2. ppūrva<sup>2</sup> pakṣattu iraṇṭām pakkamum tiṇkaḷ kilamaiyum perṟa aviṭṭattu nāl Mulli nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvāliśvaram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil Vira paṇṭi
3. tan tiru maṭattil pūṣittirukkum tēsāntira tṭapaṣiyarṟu māsaṇṭ-  
oṟum iṭayuvāra amutu ṣeytaruḷun tiruppēr paṭinañcukku amutupaṭik
4. Ku Tirumukkuṭal Ulakuṭai Mukkōkilāṇaṭi iśuram uṭaiyār kōyilil tēvartiyāḷ Ariyāḷ Puvaniyāna Āṭkoṇ
5. ṭa nāyaka māṇikkam iṭṭa accu mūṇṟukkum accu oṇṟukku upaiyam māsaṭtu aiṇkuruṇi nellāka vanta nellu kkalāṇēy mukkuṟu
6. ṇiyum āṇṭār Atirviśiyāṭuvār kaikkōṇṭu māsaṇṭōṟum amutu sēvip-  
pār ākavum ippaṭi śantirātittarkaḷ pakal ṣelvitānamaikku ippaṭikk-  
ivai
7. Atirviśiyāṭuvār eḷuttu Tiruvālavāy uṭaiyār taṟkuri māṭṭerintēn ivai  
Uṭaiya Piḷḷai en eḷuttu ippaṭikku-ivai ṣeramān Tōman eḷuttu
8. ippaṭikku ivai Tatpurusa tēvan eḷuttu ippaṭikku-ivai Akōra tēvan  
eḷuttu ippaṭikku innāyanmār ṣolla ivēḷuttu vetṭinē
9. a Nāṭṭu nampi nāyanāna Aiṇṇūṟṟuva ācāriyāḷ eḷuttu

#### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! King Māṇavarman tribhuvanacakravartin His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya dēva, who took Cōla nāḍu (in his regnal year<sup>3</sup>, Makara 4, the
- 2) second half of the *pūrva pakṣa*, Monday, Avittam (Dhaniṣṭhā)

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1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as *pūrva*.

- 3-5) a gift of three *accu* by Ariyaḷ Bhuvani Āṭkoṇḍanāyaka māṇikkam, a *dēvarāḍiyāl* of the temple of Ulakutai Mukkōkkilāṇaṭi īḷvaram temple at Tirummukkuṭal for the regular monthly feeding of 15 pilgrims from other areas worshipping and residing in the Vīra paṇḍitan *maṭha* attached to the temple of Tiruvāḷīṣvaram. The income from one *accu* per month being 5 *kuṟuṇi* of paddy, in all one *kalam* and three *kuṟuṇi*
- 6) having been enjoyed by Atirvīṣiyāḍuvār, (he) shall cause to maintain this feeding charity. Thus having effected this on long as the sun and moon last, this is
- 7) the signature of Atirvīṣiyāḍuvār. Tiruvālavay uḍaiyaṇ prepared the true copy of this document. This is the signature of Uḍaiya Pillai. Thus this is the signature of ṣeramūn Tōman.
- 8) Thus this is the signature of Tatpuruṣa devan. Thus this the signature of Aghōra dēvan. This was engraved from the dictation of these
- 9) by me Naṭṭunambi nāyan Aiñṇuṟṟuva ācāryan. This is my signature.

**No.26: Inscription of Māṟavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 5 (A.D. 1220)**

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Kō Māṟavanmarana tiripuvanacakaravattikal<sup>2</sup> Śrī ṣōnāṭu koṇṭa Suntara Pāṇṭiya dēvaṟkku yāṇṭu 5 vatu Muḷli nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Ti-
2. ruvāḷīṣvaram uṭaiyār kōyil kirāmarāṣan tiru maṭattu Malai maṇṭa-  
lattu Palḷiccēy Vikkiranman Āticcacēvanāna Akōratēvar immaṭatti-
3. le mahēśura tiruppariṇi nāl tiruvirunt-amutu ṣeya ivvāṭṭai vaikāṣi  
māsam immaṭattil iṭṭa *accu* nālu ivvaccu nāluk
4. kum accin vāy māsam oṇṇukku nellu aiṇṇuṟuṇi āka pū vaḷi patin  
kala nel Tatpuruṣa tēvar santirāccavar<sup>3</sup>
5. ivvaccu nālun kaikkōṇṭu ṣeluttuvarākavum<sup>4</sup>

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1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as tribhuvanacakravartikal.

3. To be read as śanirātittavar.

4. Full stop indicated by a pillaiyar suli.

## Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! King Māṇavarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya deva, who took Cōla nadu (in his regnal) year 5
- 2-5) A gift of four *accu* by Vikraman Ādityadēvan Aghōra dēva of Palliccēy in Malai maṇḍalam for the provision of food to the mahēśvaras on the day of the bharani *nakṣatra* from the month of vaikāṣi of this year in the Grāmarājan *maṭha* attached to the temple of Tiruvāliśvaran in Muḷli nādu. (This charity) shall be maintained as long as the sun and moon last by Tatpuruṣa dēva, who took over the four *accu* and the income therefore at the rate of five *kurūṇi* of paddy per month along with 10 *kalam*, being the half yearly income.

**No.27: Inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, Year 5 (A.D. 1220).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Savsti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Kō Māṇapanmarāna tiripuvanacakravattikaḷ<sup>2</sup> Śrī śō-nāṭu koṇṭa Suntara Pāṇṭiya tēvaṇku yāṇṭu 5 vatu Muḷli nā
2. tṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvāliśvaram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil Vīra paṇṭitan tiru maṭattil pūṣittirukkun tēśāntiri tṭapaṣiyarukku mā
3. santōṟum amutu śeytaruḷa Malai maṇṭalattu ppaḷliccē Vikkiranman Āticca tēvan āna Akōratēvanēn eṇkaḷ nāyanār Tiru
4. ccirampalam uṭaiyār piṇanta nāl urōṣaṇi<sup>3</sup> nāl immākēsuvarar mu  
.. .. . *accu* nālu ivaccu nālum immaṭattil pūṣi
5. ttirukkum tapaṣiyaril Vākīṣan Atirviṣiyāṭuvānēn kaikkōṇṭa .. .. .  
.. .. . *accu* oṇṇukku māsam nel
6. lu aiṇkuṇṇiyāka vanta nellu kkoṇṭu māsattu irupatu tiruppēr amutu śeyvippēnēkavum ippaṭi śāntirāticcaval māsantōṟum amutu śēyi
7. ppēnāka kaikkōṇṭēn Atirviṣiyāṭuvānēn ivai Vākīṣan Atirviṣiyāṭuvān eḷuttu mēṇṭaṭiyar urōṣaṇikku munpu iṭṭa *accu* nālum

1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as tribhyvanacakravartikaḷ.

3. To be read as rōhiṇi.



8. ippōtu itṭa accu iranṭum āka accu āṟuḷ upayattāl pū onṟukku  
nelli ppatinainkalamāka āṇṭu onṟukku nelli muppatin kalamum  
maṭattār
9. muppatu pēr urōṣaṇi nā<sup>1</sup> amutu ṣellumpaṭikkānamaikku ..<sup>2</sup>

### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! (In the) fifth regnal year of king Maṟavarman tribhuvanacakraarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya, who took Cōla- nāḍu
- 2-4) I, Aghōra dēvan or Vikraman Āditya dēvan of Palliccēy in Malai maṇḍalam gifted four accu for providing food to the itinerant monks, who worship in the Vira paṇḍitan maṭha attached to the temple of Tirvālīṣvaram, in Mulli nāḍu on the occasion of the birth day asterism of our deity (Rohiṇi nakṣatra) every month. This four accu having been taken over by
- 5-9) Vagiṣan Atirvāṣiyāḍuvān, one of the monks of this maṭha along with the income of paddy five *kurunī*, he shall maintain and conduct the feeding charity for twenty persons every month as long as the sun and moon last. This is the signature of Vagiṣan Atirvāṣiyāḍuvān. The income from the previous gift of four accu and the present gift of two accu, in all six accu, being 15 *kalam* of paddy per half year and 30 *kalam* per year to be utilised for the provision of food to 30 persons in the maṭha.

**No.28: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 5 (A.D. 1220).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>3</sup> ṣōnāṭu koṇṭaruliya suntara Pāṇṭiya tēvarku yāṇṭu 5  
vatu Mulli nāṭtu uṭaiyār Tiruvālīṣvoram<sup>4</sup> uṭaiya nāyanārkkku māṣi  
māsam ṣivarāṭti<sup>5</sup>
2. rāyinaṇṟu ikkōyilil pūṣikku māhēṣvarku amutu ṣeytaruḷa ikkōyilil  
tēvaraṭiyāl Ambattāl Ṣempon Tiyākiyāna Vīrapattira naṅkai

1. Abbreviation for nāl.

2. Stops abruptly.

3. In *grantha*.

4. To be read as Tiruvālīṣvaram.

5. To be read as Śivarātri.

3. makan Arulāla pperumāl Satāvāsaka peruālum ivan tampimarum  
ivvāṭṭai paṅkuni māsam iṭṭa accu oṇṇu ivvacc-oṇṇum ikkōyilil
4. Śivappirāminan śevaka ttēvan Āticca tēvanāna Vīrapattira paṭṭa-  
nēn kaikkōṇṭu māsaṭṭu aiṅkurūṇiyēṭ-āṭi upaiyattāl vanta nel  
āṇṭoṇṇukku
5. nel aiṅkalamum māsi māsaṭṭu Ccivarāttiriyaṇ mun nāl āṇṭārkaḷ  
vaṣam iṭṭalantu kuṭuppenāka kkalvetṭi kkuṭuttēn vīrapattira  
paṭṭanēn āṇṭārkaḷukku
6. ivai Vīrapattira paṭṭan eḷuttu

### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! (In the) fifth regnal year of Sundara Pāṇḍya deva,  
who took Cola nāḍu
- 2-6) a gift of one *accu* by Arulāla perumāl and his brothers, the sons of  
Ambattāl ṣempon Tyāgi Vīrabhadra naṅgai in the month of *paṅkuni*  
(phalguṇa) for the provision of food to the mahēśvaras of the temple of  
Tiruvāḷīśvaram, in Muḷḷi nāḍu on the night of the śivarātri festival in the  
month of Māsi. This one *accu* having been taken by Śevaka dēvan or  
Vīrabhadra bhaṭṭan along with the income in paddy of five *kurūṇi* per  
month or five *kalam* per annum, he agreed to measure out the paddy  
on the day previous to the night of the Śivarātri festival to the *āṇḍar*  
of the temple. (I) had this engraved on stone. This is the signature of  
Vīrabhadra bhaṭṭan.

**No.29: Inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 5 (A.D. 1220).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. sī<sup>1</sup> kō Mārapanmarāna tiripuvanaccakkaravattikaḷ ṣōnāṭu koṇ-  
ṭarūḷiya śrī<sup>2</sup> suntara Paṇṭiya dēvaṅku yāṇṭu ancāvatu paṅkuni  
māsam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭa<sup>3</sup>iyār kōyi

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1. To be read as śrī.

2. In *grantha*.

3. 'ai' as a single letter.

2. il śivappirāmiṇan Nārāyaṇakkalam Uṭaiya pṭillaiyāna Kulaśēkara paṭṭan<sup>4</sup> eḷuntaruḷivicca Ālālasundara nāyanārkkku Paṭṭavai nācciyārai<sup>5</sup> eḷuntaruḷivicca Tirumukkō-
3. Kilānaṭi<sup>6</sup>isaram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil tēvaraṭiyāl Ariyāl Puvaniya Pāṇṭiyāna Āṭkoṇṭanāyaka māṇikkam innāyanārkkum innācciyārkkum oru śā-
4. vaṭi kaṭṭi amutu śeytaruḷa śrīppaṇṭāratṭile śelvitāka tiru kkaliyānattinaṇṇu amutupaṭikkku ivai nīrvārṭta<sup>7</sup> accu āṇu ivvaccu āṇum śikāriya
5. m<sup>8</sup> ikkōyilil śivappirāmiṇar eṭṭupaṇkōrum śī kāriyam śēvan<sup>9</sup> tēvakanmikaḷukku ivvaśatamāyitta mutalāka kuṭuttu śantirātittavar śelvatāka nā
6. .. .. laka i .. .. .. nar kalaṇju .. .. .. mūvatta .. .. .. vaittōm eṭṭuppaṇkil śivappirāmiṇarum Śrī māhēśvara
7. kaṇkāṇi śeyvōmum ippaṭikk-ivai Āticcan Pakavatiyālvān eḷuttu ippaṭikk ivai kotukula paṭṭan eḷuttu
8. ippaṭikk-ivai paṭṭana uṭaiya pṭillaiyāna Nālāyira paṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭikk-ivai Ātittan amutanāna Tiyaḷavinōta paṭṭan eḷuttu
9. vāsiriyan Sūriyatēvan Nālāyira paṭṭan eḷuttu Niccittakaṇṭa paṭṭar makan Tiruvikkiramanukkāka Aḷakiyan eḷuttu
10. ivai Muḷli nāṭṭu kkilavan eḷuttu ippaṭi kalvetṭinēn ikkōyil taccāsāriyan Nāṭṭu nampi eḷuttu ippaṭi
11. kk-ivai Uṭaiya pṭillaiyāna Tīppu śikhāmaṇi paṭṭan eḷuttu .. .. .
12. yan eḷuttu ippaṭikkku ivai ikkōyilukku .. .. .
13. Vīrapattira paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Kulaśēkara paṭṭan
14. aiṇṇūṇṇuva āsāriyan eḷuttu

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4. To be read as bhaṭṭan wherever paṭṭan occurs,

5. This was the name of the wife of Jñānasambandhar.

6. The form of 'i' is note worthy.

7. Parallel to the Sanskrit expression 'udaka pūrvam'

8. To be read as śrī karyam.

9. To be read as Śrī kāryam seyvan.

### Translation

- 1) His Majesty king Māravarman tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya, who took Cōla nāḍu (in his regnal) year 5, and month *panguni*
- 2-6) An endowment of six *accu* by Ariyaḷ Bhuvaniyapāṇḍi Āṭkoṇḍa Nāyaka Māṇikkam, a *dēvaradiyār* of the Tirumukkōkilāṇaṭi īśvaran temple remitted into the temple treasury with libation of water for the provision of food offering on the day of the sacred marriage of Alalasundara nayanar and Paravai nacciyar, who had been consecrated in the temple of Muḷli nāḍu (Tiruvāḷīśvaram) by Kulasekhara bhaṭṭa or Uṭaiya Piḷḷai of Nārāyaṇakkalam, a śivabrāhmaṇa, who had also arranged for the procession of the deities by constructing a *śāvadi* (choultry). The six *accu* were taken over as capital by the *eṭṭupaṇkil* śivabrāhmaṇas and the *tēvakanmi* officers who performed the duties of *śrī kāryam* in the temple. This was to be maintained by the śivabrāhmaṇas and the *śrī māheśvara kaṇkāṇi* officers on long as the sun and moon last.
- 7-14) (The following were the signatories). Āḍityan Bhagavati ālvān; kodukula bhaṭṭan; Paṭṭaṇa uṭaiya piḷḷai or Nālayira bhaṭṭan; Āḍityan Amudan Tyāgavinōḍa bhaṭṭan; Ācāryan Sūrya dēvan Nālayira bhaṭṭan; Muḷli nāṭṭu-kkilavan; Nāṭṭu nambi, the chief carpenter of the temple, the engraver of this; Uṭaiya piḷḷai tīrppuśikhāmaṇi bhaṭṭan; Vīrabhāḍa bhaṭṭa, the śaivācārya of the temple ; and kulasekhara bhaṭṭan Ainnōṟṟuva ācāryan

**No.30: Inscription of Māravarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 5 (A.D. 1220).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Pūmaruviya tirumaṭantaiyum puvinaṭantaiyum puyatiruppu nav-aruviya kalai maṭantaiyum jayamaṭantaiyun alaṇ-cirappa kōḷānta śina puliyun koṭuncilaiyun kulaintolippa vāḷānta poṟkiri mēl varikkayalkaḷ vīlaiyāta iruṅkaṭal vaḷayattin ittaram peruka kkaruṅkali kaṭintu šeṅkōl naṭappa voru kuṭai nīḷalil iru nīlan kuḷira mūvakai ttamilum<sup>2</sup> uraimaiyil vīḷaṅka nāl vakai

1. In *Grantha*.

2. The three types of Tamil : *Iyal*, *Isai* and *Nāṭakam*.



vētamun<sup>3</sup> viṇṇuṭan vaḷara aivakai vēlviyum<sup>4</sup> šeyvinai yiyarṛa aru vakai samayamum<sup>5</sup> alakuṭan takala eḷu vakai ppāṭalum<sup>6</sup> iyaluṭan parava aṇṭi

2. šai<sup>7</sup> yaḷavun cakkranacella Koṇkaṇar Kaliṇkar Kōsalar Māḷavar Šiṅkalar Teliṅkar šinar Kuccarar Villavar Makatar Vikkalar Šembiyar Pallavan utaviya pārttivar ellām murai viṭṭaruḷena oruvan munn oruvar murai murai kaṭavatan tīrai kuncol ilankoli maṇi muṭi Intiran muṭṭiya pulankatir mārpinir poliyappaṇi malar ttāmarai ttisaimukan paṭaitta Manu neri tālaippa maṇi muṭi sūṭiya ponni sūl nāṭṭil poliyānai poykala kaṇṇi sūl nāṭṭir kayalanai kanavalar vēncina vivuḷiyum vēlamum parappi ttaṇṇaiyum urantaiyun centilai parappi kkāviyu-nila muka-
3. nṛuka kavi nīḷalaṅṅa vāliyumāṇu mātaippānaka tirukūṭamumāmatilum kōpuramum iratāṅku māṭamumāḷikaiyu maṇṭapa maṇṭapaṅkaḷ palayitattattu Ccempiyanaḷi vēḷaikōṇṭavan tēviyanai vēḷakālaṅṅi inpala pon muṭi paṇṭittu ppāṇanukku kkuṭuttaruḷi pāṭaruṇciṇṇappir poruṭivāṇṇōr ukapparusaḷi yāyirattaliyil šōraḷaḷavanapiṣēka maṇṭapattu vīrar apiṣēkanceytu puḷaḷ virittu vīḷaṅkiya maṇiyāṇi vīra siṃhāsanattu vaḷaṅkolu kaviri virimarūṅkīl iṣaippa kaṭalen muḷukku kalinalli panai vaṭa puḷa vēntar maṇippūpayam-
4. yar ilatuṅṅa kulanuyarinu tēviyar tōḷutu niṇṇēṭta ulakamuḷutu-taiyā-rōṭum viṇṇiruntaruḷina Šrī Kō Māṇapanmarāna tribbuvana-cakkaravattikaḷ šōnāṭu koṇṭaruḷiya šrī Sundara Pāṇṭiya dēvaṇṅku yāṇṭu aiṇcāvatu puratṭāṭi māsam Mulli nāṭṭu brahmadēśam Šrī Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅkalattu mutar šēri Ppāppāṅkuṇicci Āṭkoṇṇaḷavilli sōmayāji Gaṅgādhara ppīḷaḷḷaiṅku im- Mulli nāṭṭu irājarāja erivīra paṭṭaṇattu vīrakāḷalar kkōṭṭaiyil Šivallavan aḷakan āna Malaiyarāyanēn yivarkku kārāṇmai kkāṇiṅku viṇṇu kkuṭutta pū-
5. mikku perunāṅkellaiyāvatu kīḷ ellai šantana ttālvukku mēṇṅkum, teṇṇellei Vikkirama Pāṇṭiypallavatairaḷayan kuḷattu ayalil širukkai

3. The four vedas. The upa vedas are also four: *Āyur, Dhanur, Artha and Gandharva*.

4. The five *yajnas*: Brahma, Daiva, Pitr, Bhūta and Prēta.

5. The six *samayas* : Bhairava, Vama, vālamukha, Māvīrāda, Paṣupata and šaiva.

6. The six *svaras*: Śaḍja, Rṣabha, Gandharva, Madhyama, Pancama' Daivata and Niṣadha.

7. The eight quarters.

tiruccūlakkallukku nōkkina mēkku Arulāparaṇa ppallavataraiyan  
viḷaiyil ten vēlikku nērāna viḷayil vēlikkum Appāṇṭān kuḷattu  
naṇpanayārrukku vaṭakku mēl ellai śempēṇṇil kkiḷai kkoḷukālukku  
kkiḷakkum vaṭav-ollai Velankapaḷḷi vāykkalūr nāyanār tēvatā  
namāka nāṭṭi kuṭutta tiru ccūlekkallukkum vinai ārrukkum terku  
ippaṭi perunāṅkellaikk- utpa

6. ṭṭa Appāṇṭān kuḷattukku kkiḷakku vaṭapāsiru kkuḷamum nenṣey  
punṣey un<sup>1</sup> karamē tātaiyum kīnōkkina kiṇaṇum mēnōkkina mara-  
mum ulpaṭa viṇṇu kkuṭuttēn nammil isaintu vilai maticca aṇṇāṭu  
nallānaiyaccu 120 ivvaccu nūṇṇirupattukkum porulālēy ivvellaikku  
ulpaṭṭa nilattil munpu vitta Uṭaiya Pāṇṭavan kkuṭuppitta accu aim-  
patum nān ivar pakki munpu koṇṭa tani kkaṭamaikku śelaviṭṭa  
accu 40 m nān kair<sup>2</sup> koṇṭa accu 80 āka accu nūṇṇirupatum vilai  
pporulāka śāṭṭi vilaikkura viṇṇu
7. pporulāra kkoṇṭu viṇṇu vilai pramāṇam paṇṇi kkuṭuttamaikkum  
ippariṣu viṇṇu kuṭutta innāṅkellaikkuppaṭṭa nilattukku nān koṇṭu-  
varum kaṭamaiyir Gaṅgādharma pillai uṭaiyār Tiruvāliṣvaram uṭaiya-  
nāyanār Tirukkāmakkōṭṭa nācciyārkkku amutupaṭi śāṭṭupaṭi śella  
vēḷattu vēṇṭun nitta nimentankaḷukku nān koṇṭuvarum kaṭamai  
munpu paḷārapamāy viḷaiṇcu varkira nilattukku kkār māṭṭāl  
nello aiṅkalamum pāsāna māṭṭāl nello aiṅkalamum āka kaṭamai  
.. .. . putu .. .. . rāy vanta nilattukku mutal  
pū māṭṭāle nello
8. iṭuvārākavum ipperunāṅkuḷppaṭṭa punṣeykaḷukku māṭṭāl tira-  
mam iṇuppārākavum nīr nilattil eḷḷu viḷaicca nilattukku oṇṇukāl  
kaṭamai iṇuppārākavam tōṭṭa payir śēyil māṭṭāl arai ttiramam  
iṇuppārākavum ippaṭi irukkum maṭattu ppayir ēṭtu ppayir koṇṭa  
nilattukku ikkaṭamai payirākavum ippaṭi nān koṇṭuvarun kaṭamai  
yikkōyir ppiḷaikkāka nān kīriyam paṇṇi kkuṭuttamaikku ..<sup>3</sup>

#### Translation

- 1-4) Hail! Prosperity! The Goddess of wealth abiding in the lotus<sup>4</sup>, the  
Goddess of the Earth, residing in his arm; the Goddess of the Arts  
abiding in the tongue and the Goddess of Victory growing in their

1. To be read as *naṇjai puṇjaiyum*.

2. To be read as *kaiyyil*.

3. Incomplete.

4. The whole *prāṣasti* is in *Agaval* metre and is a creditable work.

excellence the angry tiger filled with the strength and the fierce bow hiding themselves, being shattered; the scaly fish sporting on the shining golden mountain (Meru); virtue increasing abundantly on the earth surrounded by the expansive ocean; the righteous sceptre swaying (in all directions), driving away the black kali, the wide earth be coming cool under the shade of (his) single parasol; the three kinds of Tamil glowing in order; the four kinds of Vēdas being learnt by (students) and growing simultaneously; the five kinds of sacrifices being performed in accordance with the established practice, the six kinds of faith being finely expounded; the seven kinds of music spreading along with the *iyaḷ*

- 2) (his) wheel moving as far as the eight quarters; all kings such as (those of) Koṅkaṇa, kaṭiṅga, kōsala, Māluva, Siṅgala, Teliṅga, Śīnar, Gurjjarar, Villavar, Magadhar, Vikkalar, Śembiyan and Pallava, bringing with them the tributes due, and rushing before one another and praying for places to be assigned for their residence; the beautiful garland set with lustrous gems put on by Indra<sup>3</sup> shining on his breast (the pāṇḍya) was crowned to widen the path of Manu who was brought into existence by Brahmā residing on the dew-settled lotus flower; causing the tiger to be removed from the country surrounded by the Ponni (the Kāverī) and the fish to spread in the country surrounding Kanni (Kanyākumārī), sending forth his angry steed and and elephants and setting on blazing fire (the cities of) Tañjai and Urandai (Tanjore and Uraiyūr) and causing the *kāvi* and *nilam* (flowering plants) to loose their bloom.
3. destroying tanks, rivers and other water sources and breaking down several halls, ramparts, towers, theatres, palaces and pavilions and causing to flow rivers of tears shed by the queens of kings who were not friendly to him and ploughing (their lands) with asses and sowing the seeds of *kavadi*, and fighting with the Śembiyan (Cōla) so as to deprive him of his golden crown set with gems and bestowing (it) on the Bāṇa, performing the anointment of heroes in the consecration hall of the unfriendly

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3. The Smaller Sinnamanur Plates refer to the wearing of the garland of Indra and of accuring one half of his throne among the achievements of an unnamed mythical Pāṇḍya king. The Sanskrit portion of the Larger Sinnamanur Plates refer to the wresting of the garland of Indra by a Pāṇḍya king and of another's sitting on his throne. The Tamil portion mentions a Pāṇḍya king appearing on the throne of Indra with his necklace. The The Velvikkudi Plates also refer to a Pāṇḍya king sharing with Indra one half of his throne and his garland. In Rājendra's *prastāva*, the garland of Indra is stated to have been taken from the king of Ceylon, with whom a Pāṇḍya king had formerly deposited it.

vaḷavan (Coḷa) at Āyirattali the glory of which is hard to be extolled, whose golden walls touch the sunny sky, (and thus) extending (his) fame, (he) cut off the fearful heads of enemy kings.

- 4) Having reduced (them) to poverty, the queens of high lineage standing up in obeisance and seated beside the consort of the (whole world), king Maravarman tribhuvanaccakravarti, who took the Cōla nāḍu and represented it His Majesty Sundara Paṇḍya dēva (in his) year 5, month Purattadi, (the following are) the four boundaries of the land sold as *kārāṇmai kāṇi* (lease hold) by śrī vallabhan Alakan Maḷavarāyan of Vīrakāvalar kōttai (fortress) in Rājarāja erivira paṭṭanam in Muḷli nāḍu to Āṭkoṇḍavilli sōmayāji Gaṅgādhara piḷḷai of Pāppākuriceḷ, the first cēri of Rājarāja - caturvēdimaṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷli nāḍu; East-to the west of
- 5-6) the sandal grove; South ; the land near the tank called vikrama Paṇḍya Pallavadaraiyan facing west towards the boundary stone with *triṣṣula* marks; North; the southern *vēli* in the land cultivated by Arulabharana Pallavataraiyan and the *vēli* near the tank called Appaṇḍār and to the north of the stream called *Narpanai*; west: to the east of the eastern channel in Šemparru and to the north of the area between the boundary stone, the *dēvadāna* land in Velāṅgapallī and to the south of the river Vinai. (This land) situated to the east of the tank called Appaṇḍār and within these four boundaries along with all irrigation facilities, spring wells and the trees that stood on the sites was sold (by me) after valuation for 120 current *ānai accu*: The amount paid formerly by Uḍaiya Paṇḍavan of 50 *accu*, the amount spent towards *kaṭamai* 40 *accu* and 30 *accu* now taken by me, in all 120 *accu* (and) having sold this for this price and taken the money (I) prepared the sale deed and gave it (to the buyer)
- 7-8) The *kaṭamai* dues on these lands shall now be paid by Gangadhara piḷḷai at the rate of 10 *kalam* of paddy in Kar and Paṣāṇ seasons by the respective measures for the food and other offerings and requirements of the God and Goddess of Tiruvāliṣvaram. (He) shall also pay 1 *tiramam* of tax on *puñcey* land,  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the produce of sesamum from the wet land and in the case of garden produce  $\frac{1}{2}$  *tiramam* and for the crops raised seasonally the tax shall be paid in kind. Thus I have sold this (property) on behalf of the *piḷḷai* of this temple.



**No.31: Inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pandya, year 5 (A.D. 1220).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Kō Māṇavanmarāna tiripuanacakkaravattikal šōnāṭu koṇṭaruliya śrī Sūntara Pāṇṭiya dēvarkku yāṇṭu 5 vatu Mulli nāṭṭu u-
2. ṭaiyār Tiruvāliśuram uṭaiyār kōyilil śivappirāmiṇan Āticcan śiṅkan āna Kotukula paṭṭanum en tampi Śeyapātamum ivan tampi Śi-
3. riyāṇṭān paṭṭanum imūvōmum ikkōyilil śikāriyam<sup>2</sup> śeyvārkum tēvakanmikaḷukkum śi māyēśura kaṅkāṇi<sup>3</sup> śeyvārkum upaiya nāṭṭukku
4. ṭutta pariśāvatu kāttikai māṣattu rōṣiṇi<sup>4</sup> nāl nāyakarum nācciyārum puṇapṭṭarula amutu śeytaruli eḷuntaruḷukaikku Malai maṇṭalattu
5. Śeṅkoṭi Kāliśūriyanāna Vīraśūriya pallavaraiyan iṭṭa accu 1 ivvaccu oṇṇukkum ivvāṭṭai Ppaṅkuni māṣam kaikkōṇṭu upaiya
6. ppaḷisai pū oṇṇukku nellu iru kalanē tūṇi patakkāka āṇṭu oṇṇukku nellu aiṅkalamāka śentirātittavar śelvitāka kal vetṭi kku-
7. ṭuttōm imūvōmum ivai Kotukula paṭṭan eḷuttu Śeyapātam eḷuttu. śiriyāṇṭān paṭṭan eḷuttu<sup>5</sup>

#### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! (In the regnal year) 5 of King Māṇavarman tribhuvanaccakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya, who took Cōla nāḍu (this is) the agreement deed given by
- 2-7) Ādityan śiṅgan or Kodukula bhaṭṭan, a śivabrāhmaṇa and his brothers Jayapādam and Śiriyāṇḍān bhaṭṭan, all three of the temple of Tiruvāliśvaram in Mullu nāḍu to the Śrī kāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēśvara kaṅkāṇi officials of the temple against the one *accu* donated by śeṅkoṭi kalisūrya pallavaraiyan or Vīraśūryan of Malai maṇḍalam for

1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as Śrī *kāryam*.

3. To be read as Śrī māhēśara kaṅkāṇi.

4. To be read as rōḥiṇi.

5. *Pillaiyar śulī*.

the provision of food offerings and the conduct of processional festivities of the God and Goddess on the day of the *rōhiṇi nakṣatra* in the month of Kārttikai. The money was taken by them in the month of Paṅguni. The half yearly interest being 2 *kalam* 1 *tūṇi* and 1 *pataṅku* of paddy and the annual interest 5 *kalam*. This was engraved on stone by the three. These are the signatures of Kotukula bhaṭṭan, Jayapādam and Śiriyāṇṭan bhaṭṭan.

**No.32: Inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year 5 (sixth year, A.D.1221).**

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti śrī<sup>1</sup> Tiruvāykkēlvikku mēl śī<sup>2</sup> Kō Māṇapanmarāna tri<sup>1</sup>pu-  
vana cakkaravattikal ṣōnāṭu vaḷaṅki aruḷiya Śī Suntara Pāṇṭiya  
tēvarku yāṇṭu āncāvatīn etirāmā
2. ṇṭu Muḷli nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvāḷisaram uṭaiyār kōyilil śivappirāmi-  
nan Śī Vāsutēvan Āticcanāna Tiyākavinōta ppiramātirāyanēn  
innāyanār Kkuṇṇameṇi-
3. nta piḷḷaiyārāna tēsināyaka piḷḷaiyārai eḷuntaruḷiviccū tēvaṅkku  
amutupaṭiyum ṣāttu paṭiyum kaṭṭi vittu ittēsināyaka piḷḷaiyāṅkku  
Niccicckaṇṭa
4. n tiru maṇṭapam en sottile aḷiṇṭcu tēvakanmikkū ṣeytēn  
Tiyākavinōta ppiramātirāyanēn<sup>3</sup> 2<sup>4</sup>

#### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order of His Majesty king Māṇavarman  
tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya, who presented the Coḷa nāḍu  
(issued in) the year opposite the year 5 (6),
- 2) I, Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyan or Ādityan Vasudēvan, a śivabrāhmaṇa  
of the temple of Tiruvāḷisvaram, in Muḷli nāḍu
- 3) provided for the processional festivities and food offerings of the deity,  
who destroyed the city of Kuṇṇam (Subrahmanya) Dēsināyaka piḷḷaiyār  
and also
- 4) constructed a hall called Niccittakaṇṭhan *maṇḍapa*, from my inheritance.

1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as Śrī

3. To be read as Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyanēn.

4. Full stop indicated by *piḷḷaiyār ṣuḷi*.

**No.33: Inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year 5 sixth year).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Tiruvāykkēlvikku mēl śrī<sup>1</sup> Kō Māṇapanmarana tiri-  
puvanaccakkaravattikaḷ ṣōnāṭu valaṅki yaruliya Śrī Sundara  
Pāṇḍiya tērku<sup>2</sup> yāṇṭu 5 vatin etirāmāṇṭu paṅkuni māsam Mulli  
nāṭṭu uṭaiyār
2. Tiruvāliṣuram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilir Hōḷaka maṭhattil jīyar sandhā-  
nattu<sup>3</sup> kumpiṭṭirukkum tapasiyaril ṣōḷan ṣīyan āṇa Akōra tēvar  
innāyanārkkku amāvāṣi tōrum tirumataivilākattai
3. ccurrāka eḷuntaruḷi iru tūṇi yariṣi aṇṇramutu ṣeyt-aruluvatākavum  
tiru viḷakk-enṇaikkum pala viṇcanaṅkaḷukkum ṣantirātittavarai  
ṣelvataka cci<sup>4</sup> paṇṭārattil iṭṭa accu eṭṭu
4. ivvacc-eṭṭuṅkaikkonṭu accu oṇṇrukku upaiyam pūvoṇṇrukku iru  
kalanētūṇi patakkāka vanta nellu irupatin kalamuṅ konṭu aṇṇrātu  
ṣikāriyaṅceyvān
5. tēvakanmikaḷ taṇṭi cceluttuvārkaḷ āka ccamatittu kkalvetṭi kkuṭut-  
tōm ṣikariyanceyvārkaḷum tēvarkanmikaḷōmum ippaṭi yaṇivēn  
ṣikāriyam Ti-
6. yākavinōta ppirāmāttirāyan eḷuttu ippaṭi yaṇivēn ṣikāriyam Nālā-  
yira paṭṭan<sup>5</sup> eḷuttu ippaṭi yaṇivēn tēvarkanmi<sup>6</sup> kotukula paṭṭan  
eḷuttu ippaṭi yari-
7. vēn tēvarkanmi<sup>6</sup> Alakiyan eḷuttu<sup>7</sup> inta ūrpaṭikkku acciṭṭa inta Akōra  
tēvar innāyanār tirunāl ṣittirai ccataiyattir ttittatinanṇru .. ..  
.. ..<sup>8</sup> aru nattattile eḷun-
8. taruḷi nāḷanṇru māhēṣurar-amutu ṣeya iṭṭa accu 2 ivvacc-iraṇṭuk-

1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as tēvarku.

3. To be read as santānattu.

4. To be read as Śrī.

5. To be read as bhaṭṭan wherever paṭṭan occurs.

6. To be read as tēvarkanmi.

7. Pillaiyār ṣuḷi.

8. Damaged.

kum pūvān tōrum<sup>5</sup> accōṇṇukku nellu iru kalanē tūṇi patakkāka acciraṇṭukku nellu aiṇkalamāka āṇṭōṇṇukku nellu patin kala-

9. mum kkoṇṭu itukkuttār ariṣiyuṇ kariyum veṇcanaṇkaḷuṇ koṇṭu śantirātittavar kai accāṇṭālulla upaiyan koṇṭu śeluttuvōm ānōm = ikkōyir tiruttoṇḍar elutt-

10. u<sup>2</sup>

### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order (of) His Majesty King Māravarman tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya dēva, who was pleased to bestow the Cōla nāḍu (issued in) the year opposite the year 5 (sixth year), paiguni (phaluguna),
- 2-3) Śōḷan śīyan Aghōra dēvan of the lineage of the jīyar of the Hōḷaki (Gōḷaki) matha, who was a devotee in the temple of Tiruvāḷiśvaram, in Muḷḷi nāḍu made an endowment of 8 accu into the temple treasury for the processional festivities of this deity of Muḷḷi nāḍu around the temple precincts on every amāvāsya and also for food offering on that day with 2 tūṇi of rice and for the oil required for lamps and such other items as long as the sun and moon last.
- 4) Having taken over these 8 accu and the half yearly income per accu 2 kalam, 1 tūṇi and 1 patakku of paddy, in all 20 kalam, the then Śrīkāryam and dēvarkanmi officers
- 5) were to maintain these services. (after) their agreeing to this, (this) was engraved on stone. Thus I know Tyāgavinōda brahmādhira-
- 6) yan, the Śrīkāryam officer. This is my signature. Thus I know. The signature of Nāḷayira bhaṭṭan, the Śrīkāryam officer. Thus I know. The signature of Kodukula bhaṭṭan, the dēvarkanmi. Thus I know.
- 7) This is the signature of Alakiyan, the dēvarkanmi. Aghōra dēva, who made this endowment of money for this ūrpaṭi (function)
- 8) also gifted two accu for providing food to the mahēśvaras on the occasion of the processional festival of this deity on the day of Śadiyam (Śatabhiṣag) nakṣatra in the month of Caitra, from the half yearly income in paddy 2 kalam 1 tūṇi and 1 patakku per accu, 5 kalam for two accu and the annual income 10 kalam of paddy.

5. Note the use of Malayalam here.



- 9) Having taken these and the necessary rice, spices and other items the service shall be maintained as long as the sun and moon last out of the income from the money endowed, by those in those in the service of the temple.
- 10) This is the signature of the tiruttoṇḍar of this temple.

**No.34: Inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year 7 (8th year, A.D.1223).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Kō Māṇapanmarāna tiripuvanacakkaravattikaḷ ṣōnāṭu vaḷaṅki aruḷiya Su-
2. ntara Pāṇḍiya tēvarku yāṇṭu eḷāvatīn-etirām-āṇṭu Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvāḷiccura-
3. m uṭaiyār kōyilil kuṇṇam eṇṇinta piḷḷayār āṇa tēsināyaka piḷḷaiyārku Irāṣarāṣa erivira paṭ-
4. taṇattu nicciccakaṇṭa perunṭeruvil Tiruvīraṭṭānam uṭaiyān Tiruvāṇṭān āṇa Tiruvampalam
5. uṭaiyān iravu ṣantikku ṣantiyā tīpattukku ivvāṭṭē āṭi māsam iṭṭa accu oṇṇu ivvaccu o-
6. ṇṇum ikkōyilil eṭṭupaṅkil ṣivappirāmaṇaruṅ kaikkōṇṭu ṣantirā-ticca pakal ṣelu
7. ttuvvōmānamaikku eṅkaḷ pakkaḷ ikkōyilil maka oṭai ṣantanam perrārum vilai yorṇi tan-
8. matanam perrārum ippaṭi celuttuvatākavum ippaṭi kaḷ veṭṭi kuṭuttōm eṭṭu-
9. paṅkil ṣivappirāmaṇarōm ippaṭikku ivai Tiyaḱavinōta ppi-ramātirāyan eḷuttu ip-
10. paṭikku ivai Nālāyira paṭṭan<sup>2</sup> eḷuttu ippaṭikku ivai Kotukula paṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭi i-
11. vai Tiruñānasampanta paṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭikku ivai Sūriyatēva nampiyān eḷuttu ippaṭikku ivai<sup>3</sup>

1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as bhaṭṭan.

3. 'ai' with two 'o' mātras.

12. *śaivāṣi*<sup>4</sup> Maṇi paṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭṭikku ivai Kulaśēkara paṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭṭikku ivai iṭai-
13. *nīkki* Tukkai yālvān<sup>5</sup> eḷuttu ippaṭṭikku ivai iṭai nīkki Tiruvikkira-man eḷuttu
14. ivarkal aruḷicceya irai nīkkinān uṭaiyān eḷuttu

### Translation

- 1-5) Hail! Prosperity! (In the) year opposite the year 7 of King Māra-varman tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya, who bestowed the Cōla nāḍu, a gift of one *accu* be Tiruvīrasthānam uḍaiyan of Tiruvāṇḍān Tiru-vambalam uḍaiyān residing in the street called Niccitta kaṇṭhan, in Rājarāja enṭira-paṭṭaṇam for burning a twilight lamp during the evening service in the (shrine) of Kunram erinta piḷḷaiyār Deśināyaka piḷḷaiyār (Subrahmanya) in the temple of Tiruāḷṣvaram, in Muḷli nāḍu, in the month of Āḍi
- 6) This one *accu* after having been taken by the *eṭṭupaṇkil* śivabrāhmaṇas, (was to be) maintained by them as long as the sun and the moon last.
- 7) The services shall be conducted by those belonging to the *maka eṭai*
- 8) *santānam* (lineage) and those enjoying the *dharma dāna* of the
- 9) temple. Thus was engraved on stone and (effected) by the *eṭṭupaṇkil* śivabrāhmaṇas. Thus this is the signature of Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyan.
- 10) (The following were the other signatories): Nāḷāyira bhaṭṭan;
- 11) Kotukula bhaṭṭan; Tirujnānasambandha bhaṭṭan; Sūryadēva nambi;
- 12) Maṇi bhaṭṭa; the śaivācārya; Kulaśekhara bhaṭṭa;
- 13) Durgai ālvān, the *iḍai-nīkki* (the remover of delays); Trivikrama;
- 14) All these having consented to this, this is the signature of Irainīkkinan uṭaiyān.

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4. To be read as śaivācāryan.

5. To be read as Durgai ālvān.

**No.35: Inscription of Māṛavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 8 (A.D. 1223).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil

**Remarks:** The inscription cites the *praśasti* of the king beginning with the words 'Pūmaruviya tirumaṭantayum' (same as No.30) The remaining portion of the text is the same as that of No.36.

**No.36: Inscription of Kōṇērimelkoṇḍān, year 8 and day 271.**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śri Tribhu<sup>1</sup>vanaccakravattikaḥ Kōṇērimēlkoṇḍān Mulli nāṭṭu Ttiruvāliśuram uṭaiyār kōyilil śrikāryan ceyvānukku tēvarkanmikkum Śrī māyēśura<sup>2</sup> kaṅkāṇi śeyvānu-
2. kku ittēvaṛku puraṭṭāti māṭattu nām piṛanta aviṭṭattu nālile tittam piraśātippuṭāka Oruvāruṇartān āna Tamiḷappallavaraiyan eḷuntaruḷa kkaṇṭa tirunālukku amutupaṭi yuḷḷiṭ-
3. ṭu vēṇṭuvanavum innāṭṭu Irājarāja ccaturvētimaṅkalattu kār paśānam vīlaiyun nīlattu ivvūr kkaṭamai irukkum kōlāl onpatu mākkāṇi muntirikai kkīḷ mukkālē nīlam eṭṭāvatu pa-
4. śānam mutal antarāyam uṭpaṭa ttēvatāna iraiyiliyāl iruppataka iṭa ppera vēṇum <sup>உரு</sup> Maḷavarāyan namaḱku cconnamaiyil ittēvaṛku tirunālukku amutupaṭi uḷḷiṭṭu vē-
5. ṇṭuvanavukku ivvūr kār paśānam vīlaiyum nīlattuk kaṭamai yilukku<sup>3</sup> kōlāl onpatu mākkāṇi muntirikai kkīḷ mukkāl aṭṭa ivvāṇṭu paśānam mutal antarāyam uṭpaṭa ttēvatāna
6. iraiyiliyāy iruppataka iṭṭu variyilār eluṭiṭṭa ūr vvari kēḷviyum tara cconnōm kaikkōṇṭu tirunāṭpaṭi uḷḷiṭṭu vēṇṭun nimaṇṭaṅkal śella ppaṇṇi ippaṭi śantir-

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1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as śrī Māhēśvara.

3. To be read as kaṭamai irukkun

7. ātittavar śelvatāka kkallilun cempilum veṭṭivittu kkolka ivai<sup>4</sup>  
 Śevvirukkai nāṭṭu Accutavayal araiyan Āticcatēvanāna Iyātavarā-  
 yan eḷuttu yāṇṭu
8. eṭṭvatu nāl 271 nāl ivai<sup>5</sup> Karuṅku nāṭṭu kkilanēkitti Viśaiyālaiya-  
 nallūr nakkan irāṭṭaiy āna Suntara Pāṇṭiya kaḷappalarāyan eḷuttu  
 ivai Pallavarāyan eḷuttu<sup>6</sup>

**Translation.**

- 1-5) Hail! Prosperity! (The order of) Tribhuvanaccakravartī Kōṇērimēlkoṇ-  
 ḍan to the Śrikāryam, devarkanmi and Śimāhēṣvara kaṇkāṇi (officers)  
 of the temple of Tiruvāḷivaram, in Mulli nāḍu, 3/4 of the *kūl* of 9 *mā* 1  
*kāṇi* and 1 *muntirikai* of double crop (raised in Kār and Paṣāṇ) in Rajarāja  
 caturvēdimāṅgalam measured by the *kaṭamai irukkum kōl*, including  
 all capital incomes was made tax-free at the request of Maḷavarāyan  
 for providing food offering to this deity and for *tīrtha* and *prasāda*  
 on the day of our birthday, Avittam (Dhanīṣṭhā) in the month of  
 Purāṭṭādi (*pūrvāṣāḍha*) and for the processional festivals (conducted  
 by) Oruvāruṇardān Tamiḷappallavaraiyan.
- 6) This was entered into the registers of the *variyaḷ* (tax official) We also  
 ordered the document pertaining to the *ar vari* to be issued. This was  
 also be engraved on stone and copper after
- 7) ensuring the conduct of these festivals, according to the orders as long as  
 the sun and moon last. This is the signature of Āditya dēvan Yādarāyan  
 of Accutavayal in Śevirukkai nāḍu. Year
- 8) 8 and day 271. This is the signature of Kilanēkīrti Irāṭṭaiyan of  
 viśaiyanallūr otherwise known as Sundara Pāṇḍya Kaḷappalarāyan of  
 Karuṅku nāḍu. This is the signature of Pallavaraiyan.

**No.37: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya.**

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

Remarks: The inscription is very badly preserved. It seems to refer to  
 a gift of money for provision of food to the mahēśvaras.

4. 'ai' with two curved prongs.

5. Different form of 'ai'.

6. *Pillaiyar śulī*.



**No.38: Inscription of Māṇavarman Sundara Pāṇḍya.**Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. .. ..<sup>1</sup> Kō Māṇapanmarāna tīripuvanaccakkaravattikan<sup>2</sup> Śōnātu  
valaṅki aruḷiya Śrī<sup>3</sup> Suntara Pāṇḍiya tēvaṟku yāṇṭu .. ..<sup>4</sup>
2. uṭaiyār Tiruvāliśvaram uṭaiyār kōyilukku kāttikai tirunāl  
nāyanārum nācciyārum puṟapaṭṭarūḷi amutu .. ..<sup>4</sup>
3. erivīra paṭṭaṇattu niccittakaṇṭa pperun teruvil irukkum Paṭṭaṇa  
uṭaiyān Akattiśuram uṭaiyān nāyanār .. ..<sup>4</sup>
4. accu oṇṟukku nellu iru kalanē tūṇi patakkāka āṇṭu oṇṟukku nellu  
aiṅkalamum iṭṭa .. ..<sup>4</sup>
5. maṇan śēvaka ttēvan Āticcanāna Tiyaḱavinōta ppiramātirāyan  
kaikkōṇṭu innellu aiṅkalamum šelu .. ..<sup>4</sup>
6. capakal<sup>5</sup> šeluttuvēn ākavum en paṅku vilaiy oṟṟi tanmatānam  
sitana<sup>6</sup>

**Translation**

- 1-3 King Māṇavarman tribhuvanacakravartī His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya,  
who was pleased to bestow the Cōla nāḍu (in his) year .. .. as gift  
by Paṭṭaṇa uṭaiyān Agastiśvarman uṭaiyān, residing in the high street  
called Niccittakaṇṭhan in Rājarāja erivīra-pattanam for the processional  
festivities of the deity and Goddess of the temple of Tiruvāliśvarman and  
for the food offering on the day of the festival in the month of Kārttika.
- 4-5 The half yearly income per accu in paddy 2 *kalam*, 1 *tūṇi* and 1  
*patakkū*, 5 *kalam* per year .... Sēvaka dēvan Ādityan Tyāgavinōda  
brahmādhirāyan agreed to render 5 *kalam* of paddy and to maintain this  
as long as the sun and the moon last, even if necessary by selling his  
share of .. ..

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1. The first seven *akṣaras* are missing in the estampage. The reading, however, should be Svasti Śrī.

2. To be read as tribhuvanacakravartikaḷ.

3. In *grantha*.

4. There is another portion missing here.

5. can be reconstructed as santiratitta pakal.

6. stops abruptly.

**No.39: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, year 3.**Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup>Kō Ccātaiyapanmarāna tribhu<sup>1</sup>vanaccakkaravattikaḷ  
Śrī<sup>1</sup> Vīra Pāṇḍiya dēvarku yāṇṭu mūṇṇāvatu āvaṇi māsam Muḷḷi  
nāṭṭu uṭai<sup>2</sup>yār Tiruvāli-
2. śvaram uṭaiy<sup>3</sup>a nāyanār kōyil eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrāhmaṇarōm  
innāṭṭu Rājarāja caturvvēdimāṅkalattu onpatāṇceri Tulakkil-  
imaṅkalattu ppāṇṭava tūtan
3. Śrī Harṣa bha<sup>1</sup>ṭṭarku pram<sup>1</sup>āṇam paṇṇi kuṭutta pariśāvatu  
innāyanārku Iṟuk vēdādhyaṇam<sup>1</sup> ivaruṭaiya pūrva puruṣarkaḷ  
munpē adhyenam paṇṇi nāl oṇṇukku aṟu nāli
4. nellu kkaikkōṟru kkoṇṭu pōntamaiyil immāsam mutal itarku  
nāṅkaḷ Vēda adhyaya<sup>1</sup>nattukku iṭṭa nilam āvatu innāyanār  
dēvatānam Śivaś<sup>1</sup>araṇa-
5. śēkaranallūr Śrī Vāsudēva vāykkālukku kilakku tiruvaraṅkavati-  
kku mēṟku aṇcānceriyl kīḷ kkaṭaiy nilam mā kāṇi mutirikai<sup>4</sup>  
innilam mā Kāṇi muntirikaiyum immātam muta-
6. l kkaikkōṇṭu iṟaiyili āka anubh<sup>1</sup>avippār ākavum tām vēṇṭina kuṭi  
kkuṭuttu ppayir śeytum śeyvittum koḷavār ākavum mēl vāram kīḷ  
vāra m o-
7. ṇṇum kkoḷla ppeṟṇu kkaṭamai iṟuppār ākavum ippaṭi śantirāṭit-  
tavar iṟaiyili āka ituve pra<sup>1</sup>māṇam āka koṇṭu kallilun cempilum  
veṭṭi k-
8. kuṭuttōm eṭṭupaṅkir śivabrāhmaṇan Kulāśēkara bhaṭṭarku ivai  
Nālayira bhaṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Tirukkaivl ālakiya bhaṭṭan<sup>1</sup> eḷuttu  
ivai Tiruttōṇṭa-
9. bhaṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Nilai paraviya bhaṭṭan eḷuttu ivai ikkoyilil  
Śeyyamātu uṭaiyān eḷuttu ivai Aṭiśayabhāva paṭṭan<sup>5</sup> eḷuttu ivai  
Kūttan Śrīkō-

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1. In *grantha*.

2. 'ai' with two prongs.

3. Different form of 'ai'.

4. Expressed by symbols.

5. To be read as bhaṭṭan.

10. yil utaiyān āna Nārpattēnnāyira paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai ikkōyilil Śaivās-  
āriyan Śēvakattēvar Śiriyāṇṭān āna Sīvallabha bha<sup>1</sup>ṭṭan eḷuttu ivai  
Śrīlaram utai-
11. .. .. na mutali eḷuttu ivai Āticca paṭṭan Nānāparaṇa paṭṭan  
eḷuttu ivai Āṇṭa piḷḷai eḷuttu ivai Kaliyāṇasuntara
- 12) paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Śiriyakṇṭa Nalāyira paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai  
Gaṅgādhara paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai mutali eḷuttu ivai
13. kavarāya paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Āticcan Kaliyan āna Kotukula paṭṭan  
eḷuttu kalvetṭinēn ikōyil sīkāriya koṇṇan Ponma-
14. laiyan Tiruttoṇṭāsāriyan eḷuttu<sup>3</sup>

### Translation

- 1-3 Hail! Prosperity! King Jātavarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty  
Vīra Paṇḍya (in his) year 3, in the month of Āvaṇi (Śrāvaṇa), (this  
is the) deed of authority made in favour of Paṇḍava dūtan Śrī Harṣa  
bhaṭṭan (residing at) Tulakkilimaṅgalam the ninth quarter of Rājaraṇa  
caturvēdimāṅgalam by the eṭṭupaṇkil Śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple of  
Tiruvāḷivaram, in Mulli nāḍu regarding the (right to) recite the Ṛg veda  
in front of this deity. When formerly his predecessors had recieved 6 nāḷi  
of
- 4-6 paddy willingly, these are the lands set apart by us from this month for  
this veda recitation: the *dēvadāna* land of this deity lying to the east of  
the irrigation channel Śrivāsudeva vāykkal in Śivacaranaśekharaṇallūr  
and to the west of the fortress in the eastern quarter of the fifth division,  
land to the extent of 1 mā 1 kāṇi and 1 muntirikai. From this month (Śrī  
Harṣa bhaṭṭa) having taken over this land along the rights of tenancy  
and cultivation of crops and the *mēlvāram* and *kīlvāram* incomes, as  
tax-free shall perform (these duties).
- 7-8 By this (it) is made tax-free as long as the sun and moon last. By  
treating this very order as *pramāṇa*, We the eṭṭupaṇkil Śivabrāhmaṇas  
give this (order) after engraving it on stone and copper to Kulāśekhara  
bhaṭṭa, a śivabrāhmaṇa (for being effected). This is the signature of  
Nalāyira bhaṭṭan. (The other signatories were) Tirukkaivēl alakiya  
bhaṭṭan; Tiruttoṇḍa bhaṭṭan
- 9-14 Nilai-paraviya bhaṭṭan; kēyyamātu utaiyān; Atiśayabhāva bhaṭṭan Kuttan  
Śrīkōyil utaiyān or Nārpattēnnāyira bhaṭṭan; Śēvakattēvar Śiriyāṇḍān

or Śrī Vallabha bhaṭṭan; Śīlāram uṭaiyan; Āditya bhaṭṭan Mānābharāṇa bhaṭṭan; Aṇḍa piḷḷai; Kalyāṇasundara bhaṭṭan; Nāḷyira bhaṭṭan; Gaṅgādhara bhaṭṭan; Mūḍali; Kavarāya bhaṭṭan; Ādityan Kaliyan or Kotukula bhaṭṭan: This was engraved on stone by Śrīkāya koṟṟan Ponmalaiyan Tiruttonḍācāryan of this temple.

**No.40: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman vīra Pāṇḍya, year 3.**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup>Kō Ccaṭa<sup>2</sup>iyapanmarāna tiripuvanaccakravattikaḷ Śrī Vīra Pāṇṭiya dēvarkku yāṇṭu 3 vatu āvaṇi mātam Muḷli nāṭṭu uṭai<sup>3</sup>yār Tiruvāḷi-
2. Śvaram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrāhm<sup>1</sup>anarōm Śrīman Hōlahi<sup>1</sup> maṭattu jōānāmrtāsāriyār ccantānattu tavasi Pukaḷi pperumāḷukku ppi-
3. ṭipāṭu paṇṇi kkuṭutta pariśāvatu ivar innāyanār kōyilir tirukkaiyōṭṭiyil Tirujñānam ōṭivarum iṭattu ivan onrukku patakkāka va-
4. nta kōṟrukku viruttiyitta nilamāvatu innāyanār tēvatānam Śiva-śarāṇaśēkaranallūr si<sup>4</sup>vāsudēva vāykkalukku tterku omunāru tiruvaraṅkavatikku kkiḷa-
5. kku mūprāṇcēyil kkiḷ kkaṭaiya nilam arai mā<sup>5</sup> innilam arai māvam immātam mutal kaikkōṇṭu tām uḷutum kuṭikuṭuttu anupavipatāka anupavikkum iṭattu i-
6. nnilattāl vanta kaṭamai antarāyamum mūṅkil vari śampata variyum mēlvārattil varum pon variyum uḷutān kaṇṭōn variyum naṭattu varikaḷum maṟṟum eppēr
7. paṭṭanavum iṟuppārākavum ivar apāpattilum ivar śantāniyattārē Tirujñānam ōṭi innilam appaṭṭiye iṟaiyili āka kkaikōṇṭu śantityavarai<sup>6</sup> anupavippā-

1. In *grantha*.

2. 'ai' engraved as a single letter.

3. Different form of 'ai' with two 'e' signs.

4. To be read as Śrī.

5. Expressed by symbols.

6. To be read as śantirātittavar.



8. r ākavum ippaṭi kallilun cempilum veṭṭivittu koḷvatākavum ippaṭi-sammatittu piṭipāṭu paṇṇi kkuṭuttōm Pukaḷi perumālukku eṭṭu-paṅkir Śivappirāmaṇarum Śrī
9. ivvanaivōrum ivai Nālayira paṭṭan<sup>7</sup> eḷuttu ivai Tirukkaivel ālakiya paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Tiruttonḍa nampi eḷuttu ivai Āpatsahāya paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Nī-
10. tiyūṭaiyan Paṇṭiya paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai śeṇṇapāṭam perumāl eḷuttu ivai kūṭṭan Śrī Kayilāyam uṭaiyān āna Nārpattēṇṇāyira paṭṭan eḷuttu i-
11. kōyilil śivāśāriyan śēvakattēvan śiriyāṇṭān āna śivallava paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Śīlaram uṭaiyān mutali eḷuttu

#### Translation

- 1-6 Hail! Prosperity! King Jaṭavarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Vīra Paṇḍya ( in his ) year 3 and in the month of Āvaṇi, the eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrahmanas of the temple of Tiruvāḷivaram in Mulli nāḍu gave (this) deed of support to the monk Pukaḷi perumāl belonging to the lineage of Jñānmrtācārya of the Hōlaki maṭha (Gōlaki maṭha) to the effect that he should recite the *Tirujñānam* in the prayer hall of the temple and for this  $\frac{1}{2}$  mā of land from the *dēvadāna* of this deity called Śivacaranaśekhara-nallur lying to the south of the irrigation channel Śrī Vāsudēva-vāykkal and to the east of the third sluice near the fortress, (was gifted to him)., from this month. The cultivation and tenancy rights along with the incomes such as *kaṭamai*, *antarāyam* bamboo tax, tax on fisheries, *pon vari* from the *mēlvāram*, supervisory taxes on cultivation and other existing incomes may be enjoyed by him.
- 7-8 Even if he dies his descendants shall recite the *Tirujñānam* after taking over the land as tax-free as long as the sun and moon last and enjoy them. Thus it may be engraved on stone and copper. Having agreed thus, we the Śivabrahmanas prepared the letter of authority and issued it to Pukaḷi perumāl.
- 9-11 The signatories : Nālayira bhaṭṭan; Tirukkaivel ālakiya bhaṭṭan; Tiruttonḍa nambī; Āpatsahāya bhaṭṭan; Nītiudaiya Paṇḍya bhaṭṭan; Jayapādam perumāl; Śrī Kailāsam uḍaiyan Nārpattēṇṇāyira bhaṭṭan; Śēvaka dēvan Śiriyāṇṭān Śrī Vallabha bhaṭṭan, the śaivācārya of the temple; and śīlaram uḍaiyān.

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7. To be read as bhaṭṭan.

**No.41: Inscription of Jaṭāvarman Vīra Pāṇḍya, year 3.**Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup>Kō Ccaṭaiyavanmarāna tiripuvannccakkaravattikal śrī Vīra Pāṇḍiya dēv<sup>1</sup>arku yāṇṭu 3<sup>2</sup>vattu purattāti mātam Muḷli nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvāli-
2. śvaram uṭaiya nāyinār kōyil eṭṭupaṅkil śivappirāmaṇarām Pāṇḍiyata-raiyan tiru nantāvanan ceykira śrīman Kōlaki maṭattu jñā-
3. nāmrtācāriyar santānattu Akōra tēvarkku piṭipāṭu paṇṇi kkuṭutta pariśāvatu innāyanārkkku ivar śeykira Pāṇḍiyataraiyan tiru nan-
4. tāvanam tirupalli taram ākki pparittu palakai ttalaiyile toṭuttu iṭukkaikku iṭṭa viruttiyāvatu innāyanār tēvatānam Śivaśara-
5. paśēkara nallūril Śrī Vāsudēva vāykkūlukkku terkkum mūṇṇrān kaṇṇāṇṇu tiruvaraṅkavatikkku kīlakku puncai nilam<sup>3</sup> kāṇi arai<sup>4</sup> innilaṅ kā
6. ṇi arai kkāṇiyum iraiyiliyāka ivvāṇṭu kār mutual kaikkonṭu tinam vēṇṭum .. .. ttum śeytivittu
7. koḷvār ākavum innilattil mēlvārattil oṇṇum koḷḷātiruppōm ākavum innilam iraiyiliyāka śantirāti-
8. tṭapakal anupavippār ākavum ippaṭi śeyyum iṭattu ituvē piṭipāṭāka koṇṭu kalliluṅ cempilun
9. vēṭṭi kkoḷvār ākavum ippaṭi samatittu virutti piṭipāṭu paṇṇi kuṭuttōm eṭṭupaṅkil
10. śivappirāmaṇarōm Akōra tēvarkku ivai Nālayira paṭṭan<sup>5</sup> eḷuttu ivai Tirukkaivōl alakiya paṭ-
11. ṭan eḷuttu ivai Tiruttonḍa nampi eḷuttu ivai Tēva piḷḷai eḷuttu ivai Śrī Kailāsam uṭai-

1. In *grantha*.1. In *grantha*.

2. Expressed by a numeral.

3. Expressed by symbol.

4. Expressed by a symbol.

5. To be read as bhaṭṭan.

12. yān śrī Nārpattēṇṇāyira paṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭi aṟivēn ikkōyilil  
saivāsāriyan Āpatsahāya bhaṭṭan eḷu-
13. ttu ivai Nilaiyuṭaiya Pāṇ ṭiyapaṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Śeyypātan perumāḷ  
eḷuttu

### Translation

- 1-5 Hail! Prosperity! King Jataśvarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty  
Vīra Pāṇḍya (in the regnal) year 3 and month Purattādi the *eṭṭupaṇkil*  
śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple of Tiruvāḷisvaram in Mulli nāḍu (gave)  
this letter of authority to Aghōra dēva of the Jñānamṛtācārya lineage  
of the Gōḷaki *maṭha* who was in charge of the flower garden named  
Pāṇḍyadaraiyan. One and a half *kāṇi* of land from the *dēvadāna* of  
this deity known as Śivacaranaśekharaṇallur, lying to the south of the  
irrigation channel Śrī Vāsudēvan vāykkal and to the west of the third  
sluice near the fortress as a remuneration for converting the garden as  
*tirupallitaram* and for including the same in the registers under the same  
classification, (was given) to him.
- 6) After taking over this wet land of  $1\frac{1}{2}$  *kāṇi* (he) shall maintain the daily  
requirements from the kar season this year.
- 7) Nothing shall be taken from the *mēlvāran* income of this land by us and  
this land shall be enjoyed as long as the moon and sun last.
- 8) While this is being done, this (order) shall be deemed to be the supporting  
document and it shall be engraved on stone and copper.
- 9) Having agreed thus, we the śivabrāhmaṇan (of the *eṭṭunpaṇkil* group  
issued this deed of support for the *vṛiddhi*
- 10) to Aghōra dēva. This is the signature of Nālayira bhaṭṭan;
- 11) Tirutṭoṇḍa nambi; Dēva piḷḷai; Śrī Kailāsam uḍaiyan Nārpattēṇṇāyira
- 12) bhaṭṭan; Thus I know Āpatashāya bhaṭṭan, the śaivācārya of the temple.
- 13) Nilai uḍaiya Pāṇḍya bhaṭṭan; and Jayapādam perumāḷ.

**No.42: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 2.**

Script: Tamil and *Grantha*.

Language: Tamil

1. .. ..<sup>1</sup> cakkaravattikaḷ Śrī<sup>2</sup> Suntara Pāṇṭiya dēvarkku yāṇṭu  
iraṇṭāvatu munpu periya nāyanār Kulāṣēkkaṛadēvar kaḷattil Mulli  
nāṭṭu uṭai-
2. .. .. śivarāttiri pūṣaikkū ikkōyilil tēvaraṇṭiyāḷ Ambattāḷ maḱaḷ  
ṣempon Tiyaḱiyāna Vīrapattira naṅkai iṭṭa accu aincey it-
3. ta accu araiyum<sup>3</sup> āka accu ancey mukkaḱiē mūṇṇu mā mukkaṇṭiyum  
ṣamaiyattil Tinaviti piḷḷai iṭṭa accu oṇṇum niccicckaṇṭa perun  
teruvile
4. .. .. oṇṇu nāṭṭu kkalakattāḷ pūṣai muṭṭi paḷṣaiyāḷ vanta  
accu nālē mā kāṇiyum āka accu panniraṇṭukkum accu oṇṇukku  
upaiyam ā-
5. .. .. ācantrāttittapakal ṣelvitāka kalveṭṭina iṭaiyavāṇṭu  
Koṇṇalaṅkuṭaiyān tavasi Piṇṇa-
6. .. .. vumiṭattu ivvacu panniraṇṭāḷ vanta upaiya nellu aṇṇupatin  
kalamum aṇṇāṭu śikāriyan ceyvān tēvarka-
7. .. .. pūṣai ṣeluttuvōrāka sammatittu kalveṭṭi kuṭuttōm ippaṭi  
aṇṇivēn śikāriyan Tiyaḱavinōta ppira-
8. .. .. Śrīkāriyan Nāḷāyira paṭṭan<sup>4</sup> eḷuttu ippaṭi aṇṇivēn tēvakanmi  
Kotukula paṭṭan eḷuttu ippaṭiyari-
9. .. .. ḷuttu

#### Translation

- 1) .. .. His Majesty Sundara Paṇḍya ( in his ) year 2; formerly in the  
time of the elder relative Kulāṣekhara, Sempon Tyagi
- 2) Vīrabhadra naṅgai, daughter of Ambattāḷ, a *dēvaraṇṭiyār* of the temple  
of Tiruvāliḱvarm in Mulli nāḍu ( had ) made an endowment of 5 *accu*  
for conducting the worship during the *Śivarātri* festival
- 3) .. .. in all 5 *accu* ( and )  $3\frac{1}{4}$  *mā* and 3 *kāṇi* ( of land ). Tinaviti piḷḷai  
made a gift on this occasion of one *accu*.
- 4) .. .. the worship was interrupted due to a *nāṭṭu kalaham* the income  
by way of interest ( from ) 1 *mā* and 1 *kāṇi* ( of land ) being 4 *accu*, the  
total income being 12 *accu*

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1. The beginning is lost.

2. In grantha.

3. Engraved above the line. Probably a later inscription.

4. To be read as bhaṭṭan.



- 5) .. .. was to be maintained by Tavasi Piccan or Korralaṅḡudaiyaṅ during the interim period when the inscription was engraved
- 6) .. .. the current Śrīkāryan and dēvarkanmi officers of the temple shall enjoy the income of 60 *kalam* of paddy from the 12 *accu* and they shall conduct the worship in the temple.
- 7) After their agreement, this was engraved on stone. I know thus Tyāgavinōda brahmādhiraṅ, the Śrīkāryam officer.
- 8) .. .. This is the signature of ārikāryam ( officer ) Nalāyira bhattan. Thus I know, Kotukula bhattan, the dēvarkanmi officer. This is my signature.
- 9) .. ..

**No.43: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year opposite the year 4 (year 6).**

Details of Date: Āvaṇi, 2, Thursday, and Uttara Bhādrapada. The only two occasions between A.D.1184 and A.D. 1384 when Uttara Bhādrapada coincided with Thursday, the second day of Āvaṇi were i) A.D.1276, Thursday, July 30. Uttara Bhārapada began at .08 and ended the next day at .19. This was the 2nd day of Āvaṇi by the Sūrya siddhānta and 3rd day by the Ārya siddhānta. ii) A.D.1371, Thursday, 31 July when Uttara Bhādrapada began at .01 ending at .00 the next day. This was the second day of Āvaṇi by both Ārya and Sūrya siddhāntas. According as either of these equivalents is correct the commencement of the reign of the king would have to be placed either in A.D.1271-72 or in A.D.1366-67. The palaeography of the record would support the first conclusion.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Tiruvāykkēlvikku mēl Śrī<sup>1</sup> Kō Māṇapanmarāna tri-  
bhu<sup>1</sup>vanaccakravattikaḷ Śrī Sundara Pāṇḍiya tēvarkku yāṇṭu 4<sup>2</sup>  
vatin etirām āṇṭin etirām ā-
2. ṇṭu āvaṇi māsattu 2<sup>3</sup> ṇṭān tiyatiyum viyālakkilamaiyum perra  
uttirattī nāl Mulli nāṭṭu utaiyār Tiruvāliśvaram utaiya nāyan-

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1. In *grantha*.

2. Expressed by a symbol.

3. Expressed by a symbol.

3. nārkku Mullai vēntan šeyta tanmam āvatu vēluṇṭān kākka vēṇṭa kāttavan śī pātam<sup>4</sup> iraṇṭum en talai mēlē yonṟu kalvetṭi kkitak-
4. ka cceytē i ttanmam alivu paṭṭamaiyil ittanmam nōkka ittānattu mōkari<sup>5</sup> yeluttār illāmaiya-
5. nāyanār patirpaṭi tiṭṭaiyum pala ēri yuṭaiya .. .. Tiruvāliśuram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyil tirukkāmapurattu vittu iraṇṭu tanamu-
6. n kuṭiyānmai paṇṇi vittu ittanman ceytōn Piccai maṭattil mutaliyārāl Śrī pātattu piḷḷaikaḷl Tirumakiltiṭṭa piḷḷaiyāna Ś-
7. ōla kōn Orritēvan tan .. .. mutalikaḷukkum aruḷi šeya ikallu vēṭṭinanen ikōyil taccāśāriya-
8. nampi Mātēvan āṇa Jayamukha āśāriyan eḷutu ikōyil taccāśāriyan Kōraṇ Ponmalaiyāṇa Tiruttonḍāśāriyan eḷuttu

#### Translation

- 1-3 Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order ( of ) King Maṇavarman Tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Sundara Paṇḍya (issued in the) year opposite the year opposite the year 4 (year 6), in the second day of Āvaṇi (Śrāvaṇa), Thursday and uttirattādi at the request for the protection and maintenance of the charity instituted by Mullai ventan for the deity in the temple of Tiruvāliśvaram in Mulli nāḍu, which had been discontinued owing
- 4-5 to the absence of revenue officials to supervise the gift and also because of the damage done to the land in the village belonging to the temple by floods and breaches in the irrigation tanks
- 6) I, Tirumakiltiṭṭa piḷḷai Śōlakōn Orridevan belonging to the lineage of teachers of the Bhikṣā maṭha attached to the temple (agreed to) maintain this charity by cultivating the land and raising two crops.
- 7) I, the chief carpenter of this temple Nambi Mahādēvan or Jayamukha ācāryan engraved this at the graceful bidding of the teachers of this maṭha.
- 8) This is the signature of Kōraṇ Ponmalai or Tiruttonḍācāryan.

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4. To be read as Śrī pādam.

5. To be read as mukha vari

**No.44: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 8, mārgaḷi.**

**Script: Tamil and *grantha*.**

**Language: Tamil.**

1. Svatti<sup>1</sup> Śrī<sup>2</sup> Suntara Pāṇḍiya tēvaṛku yāṇṭu eṭṭa-
2. vatu māṛkaḷi mātam Muḷḷi nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvāḷi
3. Śuram uṭaiya nāyanār kōyir śikāriyan tēvakanmikaḷu-
4. m Śrī māhēśvara<sup>3</sup> kkaṇkāṇi śeyvārkaḷukku ikkōyil śivabrā<sup>4</sup>.
5. hmaṇan Āticcan Śeṇkanāna Vīra paṇṭita paṭṭanēn tīr-
6. tta pariśāvatu Malai maṇṭalattu kkuṛumattūr Nārāyaṇan Aiyappa
7. n innāyanārku nāyaṛṛu kkilamai tōṛum Tanporunta Āṇṇil
8. tirumaṇcanam eṭuttu vantu āṭi arulivippatāka immāsam iṭṭa accu
9. ivvaccu oṇṇum nān kaikkonṭu ivvaccukku māsam oṇṇuk-
10. ku nel kuṛuṇi 5<sup>5</sup> āka māsam āṛukku nel kuṛuṇi 30<sup>6</sup> āka ivvaccu oṇṇukku<sup>6</sup> nel ain kalam<sup>6</sup> nel ain-
11. kalamum pūvāṣaṛutiylē ittirumaṇca-
12. nam eṭuppārkkku muṭṭāmar śantirātityav<sup>2</sup>a-
13. r eṭuppippēn ākavum ttirumaṇcanamum upaiyamu-
14. m muttil on pankilai yoṛṇi madhy<sup>4</sup>ānamum svi<sup>4</sup>ta-
15. nam koṇṭār uṇṭākilum yivupaiyam ala-
16. ntu iru ttirumancana pū muṭṭāmaal eṭuppippēn ākavum
17. pōṭṭi śeyyum maṭattilum kallilum śempilum veṭ-
18. ti śandrādityavar muṭṭāmal śelutti kuṭuppēn āka samma-
19. tittu tiṭṭu kuṭuttēn Vīra Paṇṭita paṭṭanēn śi

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1. To be read as Svasti.

2. In *grantha*.

3. Expressed by symbols.

4. Expressed by symbols.

5. Expressed by symbols.

6. Expressed by symbols.

20. *kāriyan tēvakanmi Śrī māhēṣvara<sup>1</sup> kkaṇkāṇi ṣeyvā-*  
 21. *rkaḷukku ippaṭi ivai Vīra Paṇḍita paṭṭan eḷuttu*  
 22. *ivarkaḷ ṣolla i tittu eḷutinēn Mīlalai kku-*  
 23. *ṛrattu Vaykuntanallūr Śirukampūr uṭaiyān Karumāṇikka kō nam-*  
 24. *pi eḷu*  
 25. *ttu<sup>2</sup>*

### Translation

- 1-3 Hail! Prosperity! His Majesty Sundar Paṇḍya (in the regnal) year 8 and in the month of Mārgaḷi (this is) the undertaking given by Ādityan Śaṅkaran Vīra Paṇḍita bhaṭṭan, a Śivabrāhmaṇa of the temple of Tiruvāḷiṣvaram in Mulli nādu to the Śrīkāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēṣvara kkaṇkāṇi officers (relating to) the gift of one *accu* by Nārāyaṇan Aiyappan of Kuṟumattūr in Malai maṇḍalam to be utilised for bringing water every sunday from the river Tanperundam (Tāmrapaṇṇi) for the bathing of the deity.
- 9) Having received this and the income by way of interest for this *accu* the five *kalam* of paddy per annum (shall) be given
- 10) to the person bringing the *tirumaṇjanam* water without fail as
- 11) long as the sun and moon last, I undertake to maintain this service.
- 12-16 If there is any deficiency in the gift amount itself, I shall set apart a share of my income, even for the services of *madhyāna* (midday) and shall maintain this charity and the service of *tirumaṇjana* without fail.
- 17-19 After (narranging to have this) engraved in the *maṭha* where discussions were held and on stone and on copper, I, Vīra Paṇḍita bhaṭṭan gave this undertaking to the śrīkāryam,
- 20-25 dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēṣvara kkaṇkāṇi officers. This is the signature of Vīra Paṇḍita bhaṭṭan. I, Śirukampūr uṭaiyān Karumāṇikka nambi of Vaikuṇṭhanallūr is Mīlai kkuṛram wrote this document at the dictation of these.

1. In gratha.

2. *pillaiyār ṣuḷi*.



**No.45: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year opposite the year 8 (year 10).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup>Kō Māraṇmarāna tribhuvanaccakra<sup>1</sup>vattikal Śrī Sun<sup>1</sup>tara Pāṇḍiya dēvarku yāṇṭu 8 vatin etirām āṇṭirketirām āṇṭu sīttirai māsam Mulli nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvālisvaram uṭaiya nāyanārkkku Vīrapaṇḍitan tiru maṭattu ppūśaka-
2. rukku tirttonḍaril Atirviśiyāṭuvān vākisāṇṭār śeyvicca paṭi innāy-anārkkku ilaiyamutu aṭaikkāy amutu amutu śeytaruḷa innāy-anārkkku vaṭakku Ālālasuntaran tiru ttōppukku nāl oṇṇukku eṇpatāka iraṇṭu vēṇṇan ilaiyamutun kaṭamai Śeyum ēttukku
3. nāl oṇṇukku nārpatataikkāy amutu ituvārkalākavum āṇṭu oṇṇukku ēḷu palakkulai āṭiyarūlavum amutu śeytaruḷa ippaṭi samatittu śantirāttitta varai śelvatāka ppiṭipāṭu kuṭuttōm eṭṭupaṇkil śivabrāhmaṇarōm<sup>1</sup> nāyanārku ivai Mānāparaṇa-
4. n eḷuttu ivai Suntara .. .. eḷuttu ivai Tiyākuvinōta brahmātirāyan eḷuttu ivai śikāriya paṭṭan<sup>2</sup> eḷuttu ivai Nālayira paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Tīruttonḍa nampi eḷuttu ivai Śiriyāṇṭān paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Tēva piḷḷai eḷuttu

#### Translation

- 1-4 Hail! Prosperity! King Māraṇvarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍiya (in his regnal) year opposite the year opposite the year 8 (year 10) in the month of Caitra (these are) the services instituted by Atirviśiyāḍuvār vāgiśan, a priest attached to the Vīrapaṇḍitan *maṭha* for the provision of betel leaves and areca nut offerings to the deity of Tiruvālisvaram in Mulli nāḍu: 80 areca nuts per day along with two bundles of betel leaves (secured) from the grove called Ālālasundaran *tōppu* situated to the north of the village and also 50 areca nuts per day being the rent (income) from the tenancies, along with seven bunches of (plantain) fruits per year shall be rendered. After agreeing to this, we the *eṭṭupaṇkil* śivabrāhmaṇas of this temple (issued) this document. The signatories (were): Mānābharāṇan Sundara .. .. ; Tyāgavinōda brahmādhirāyan; Śrīkārya bhaṭṭan; Nālayira bhaṭṭan; Tīruttonḍa nambi; Śiriyāṇḍān bhaṭṭan and Dēva piḷḷai.

1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as bhaṭṭan

**No.46: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year 3 opposite the year 11.**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Tiruvāykkēḷvikku mēl Śrī<sup>1</sup>Kō Māraṇanmarāna tribhuva<sup>1</sup>naccakkaravattikaḷ Śrī Su<sup>1</sup>ndara Pāṇḍiya dēvarku yāṇṭu patinonṛāvatīn etir
2. mūṇṛāmāṇṭu arpaṣi māsam Mulli nāṭṭu utai<sup>2</sup>yār Tiruvāliśvaram utaiya nāyanār kōyilil śikāriya tēvakanmi Śrī māhēśvara kka-
3. ṇkāṇi śeyvārkaḷukkum ikkōyilil eṭṭupaṇkir śivabrāhmaṇarōm piṭipāṭu paṇṇi kkuṭutta pariśāvatu innāyanār kōyir tēvaratiy-
4. āril Śempon Tiyāki Śēvakattēvar innāyanārku āṭṭai tiruvilāvāka ttiru ppavitraṇ cātti varuvatāka vēṇṭakkaṭava amutupaṭi viṇcanattuku iṭṭa
5. accu 14<sup>3</sup> ivvacu patinālum nāṇkaḷ kaikkonṭu ā<sup>5</sup> onṛukku acconṛukku alappatāna nellu 4 kalam 9 kuruṇi  $\frac{1}{2}$  nāli<sup>4</sup> āka nellu 4 kalam 9 kuruṇi  $\frac{1}{2}$  nāli<sup>4</sup> āka
6. āṇṭu onṛukku nellu<sup>6</sup> 64 kalam 7 kuṇṇi 2 nāli<sup>6</sup> innellu aruppattunārkalaneḷ eḷu kuṇṇi iru nāliyum alantu aṇṇāṭu Śrīkāriya tēvarkanmi Śrī māhēśva-
7. ra kaṇkāṇi śeyvārkaḷukkum tesiya āvaṇi māsaṭṭaviṭṭa ttirunāl tiri-buvanacakravattikaḷum ākavum ippaṭi eṇkaḷ pakkaḷ makkaḷum patrāsanaṇko-
8. ṇṭavarkaḷum vilai orṇi koṇṭavarkaḷum dhammadānan koṇṭan ceyvār tēvakanmi vantu tiruppavitraṇ cātti varuvōm ākavum ippaṭi sammaticcu

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1. In *grantha*.

2. 'ai' with two 'e' signs.

3. Expressed by a numerical symbol.

4. Expressed by symbols.

5. Expressed by a contraction.

6. Expressed by symbols.

9. sandrādittavar śelvataka kallilun cempilum vetṭi kkuṭukkavantān āna kāṅkēyarkku brāhmaṇarōm anṛātu śikāriyan<sup>7</sup> tēvakanmi śimāhēśva-
10. ra<sup>8</sup> kaṅkāṇi śeyvārkaḷukku ivai Tēvana paṭṭanāna Mānāparana paṭṭan kaikkonṭu eṅkal Sī kailāsam uṛaiyān āna Tiyaḱavinōda brahmādhirāya-
11. n eḷuttu ivai Kotukula paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Śiṅkan Uyyan Kīlampa-lakaittalaiy iraiyyan eḷuttu ivai Śeyyapātam perumāl eḷuttu
12. ivai paṭṭan Āṇṭa piḷḷai eḷuttu ivai Uṭaiyān Piṇakkancārruvān mūvaraiyan eḷuttu ivai uṭaiyān Tōḷiyān Tiruttonḍa nampi eḷuttu
13. ivai Śiriyāṇaṭān paṭṭan<sup>9</sup> eḷuttu ivai Āpatsakāya paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai imamē taruvār nampiyār eḷuttu ivai Kūttan Śītanāṅkuṭaiyān eḷu-
14. ttu ivai Paṭampaka nāyan Piṇakkarumpan eḷuttu ivai Perumān Śikayilasam uṭaiyar eḷuttu ivai Śaṅkan uyyavantān eḷuttu Kūttan Aiyyapan ā
15. na Kulāśēkara paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai Śitti uyyavantān āna Śitti paṭṭan eḷuttu ivai vaṭukan uṭaiyān āna Kalyāṇasundara paṭṭan eḷuttu iṅverkaḷ śo-
16. Ila ippitipātu eḷutinēn Śikampūr uṭaiyān Karumāṇikka kkōnampi eḷuttu ippaṭi kalvetṭinēn ikkōyil taccācāriyan Korran po-
17. nmalaiyan Tiruttonḍāśāriyan eḷuttu ivai mātēvan Vālavallān āna Jayamūrti āśāriyan eḷuttu<sup>1</sup> śivam = astu Śrī.<sup>1</sup>

#### Translation

1-4 Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order of His Majesty King Maṇavarman tribhuvanaccakravarti His Majesty Sundara Pāṇḍya (in the regnal) 11 opposite the third year (year 14), (this is) the letter of authority given in the month of *Arpaśi* by the *eṭṭupaṅkil* śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple of Tiruvāḷivaram in Muḷli nāḍu to the Śrīkāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māhēśvara kaṅkāṇi officers of the temple pertaining to the endowment of 14 *accu* by Sempon Tyagi, a *dēvaraṭiyār* of the temple made at the request of Sevattēvar for the provision of the necessary requirements for the annual festival of *pavitra* and for food offerings to this deity.

7. To be read as Śrīkāryam.

8. To be read as Śrī māhēśvara.

9. To be read as bhaṭṭan.

1. *Piḷḷaiyār śuli*.

- 5-8 Having taken over this 14 *accu* we agreed to measure out 64 *kalam* 7 *kuruni* and 2 *nāli* of paddy per annum at the rate of 4 *kalam* 9 *kuruni* and  $\frac{1}{2}$  *nāli* per *accu* to the Śrīkāryam, dēvarkanmi and Śrī māheśvara kaṅkaṇi officers then holding office and conduct the festivities on the day of Dhanīsthā in the month of Āvaṇi (ie., the king's birthday). Thus witnessed by subjects who have been given the *patrāsana* and those who (agreed) to buy the produce for a fixed price and also the dēvarkanmi who supervise the *dharma dāna* gifts, we (the śivabrāhmaṇas) assume the responsibility of maintaining this *pavitra*.
- 9-10 Having agreed thus as long as the sun and moon last, Gāṅgēya shall engrave this on stone and copper. (This is) the deed given by the eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrāhmaṇan to the Śrīkāryam, dēvarhanmi and Śrī māheśvara kaṅkaṇi officers. This was taken over by Dēvana bhaṭṭan Mānābharana bhaṭṭan. The signatories (were): Śrī Kailāsam uṭaiyān Tyāgavinōda brahmādhiraṇ; Kotukula bhaṭṭan
- 11-15) Āṇḍa piḷḷai; Uyyan Kilampalakaittalai iraiyyan; Jayapādam perumāl piṇakkancārruvan mūvaraiyan; Tōliyan Tiruttonḍa nambi; Śiriyāṇḍān bhaṭṭan Mūvaraiyan; Tōliyan Tiruttonḍa nambi; Śiriyāṇḍān bhaṭṭan; Āpatsahāya bhaṭṭan; Imamē taruvār nambi; kūttan Sītanāṅgudaiyan; Patampakanāyan piṇakkarumpan; Śrī Kailāsam Uṭaiyān Śaṅkan Uyya-vandān; Kūttan Aiyyappan Kulāṅkharā bhaṭṭan; Siddhi bhaṭṭan; Kalyāṇasundara bhaṭṭan.
- 16-17 At the dictation of these, I, Karumāṇikka nambi of Śirukampūr wrote this document. It was engraved on stone by Korraṇ Ponmalai Tirutton-dacaryan, the carpenter (architect) of this temple. This is the signature of Mahādēvan Valavallān or Jayamūrti ācāryan. Let there be peace (and) prosperity.

**No.47: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya, year opposite the year 15 (year 16).**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> Tiruvāykkēlvikku mēl śrī<sup>1</sup>Kō Mārāpanmarāna tribhuvana<sup>1</sup>ccakkaravatika<sup>2</sup> Śrī Sundara Pāṇṭiya dēvarkku yāṇṭu 15

1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as tribhuvanacakravartika.



vatin etirām āṇṭu māṣi māsaṃ Mulli nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvāliśvaram  
uṭaiya nāyanār kōyilil śikāriyan ceyvār<sup>3</sup> śimāhēśvara kaṅkāni śe-

2. yvarkkum ikkōyilil eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrāhma<sup>1</sup> narōm piṭipātu kuṭutta  
pariśāvatu innāyanār tirukkāmakkōṭṭam uṭaiya periya nācciyārkkū  
śirukālai ccanti eḷarai nāḷikai poḷutu tiruvilakku eriya santyādīpam  
āka perṟa Irājarāja erivira paṭṭiṇattu
3. niccittakaṇṭa perun teruvil Aḷakiyan itta nallānai accu 1 iv-  
vaccu oṇṇum kaikkōṇṭu candrādityavat<sup>1</sup> santyādīpam erippatāka  
sammattittu<sup>4</sup>

#### Translation

- 1-3 Hail! Prosperity! At the royal order (of) His Majesty King Maṇavarman  
tribhuvanacakravarti Sundara Pāṇḍya (issued in the) year opposite the  
year 15 (year 16) in the month of Māṣi, (this is) the document (signed) by  
the eṭṭupaṅkil śivabrāhmaṇas of the temple of Tiruvāliśvaram in Mulli  
nāḍu to the Śrikāryam, devarkanmi and Śrī māhēśvara kaṅkāni officers  
of this temple pertaining to the gift of one *ānai accu* by Aḷakiyan, a  
resident of Niccittakaṇṭha perun teruvu (high street) in Rājarāja erivira  
paṭṭaṇam which was to be utilised for a twilight lamp to the goddess  
in the dēvi shrine of this deity. The lamp was to burn continuously till  
the early morning service in the shrine  $7\frac{1}{2}$  nāḷikai after sunrise. Having  
taken over this one *accu*, we agreed to maintain this twilight lamp as  
long as the sun and moon last.

#### No.48: Inscription of Tribhuvanacakravartin Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*

Language: Tamil.

Remarks: The inscription is very badly preserved. It seems to refer to  
a gift of money to the temple.

#### No.49: Inscription of Sundara Pāṇḍya.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil

3. To be read as Śrikāryanceyvar.

4. Stops abruptly

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> tiru Kō Māṇapanmarāna tiripuvanacakkaravattikaḷ  
šōnāṭu vaḷaṅki aruḷiya Śrī Suntara Pāṇṭiya tēvarkku yāṇṭu .. ..<sup>2</sup>
2. uṭaiyār kōilil<sup>3</sup> śivappirāminan iṭai nīkki Tukkaiy<sup>4</sup> ālvān āna Nicci-  
ttakaṇṭanēn yikkōyilil śrikāryam .. ..<sup>2</sup>
3. .. mum śimākēccora kaṇkāṇi śeyvārkum<sup>5</sup> nān kalvetṭi kuṭutta  
pariśāvatu kāttikai māsattu uttirāṭattu nāḷ .. ..<sup>2</sup>
4. .. .. nai .. tiruttonḍavupaiyam iṭṭa accu onrum nān kaiyir kkoṇṭu  
ivvupaiyam .. .. oṇṇu .. ..<sup>2</sup>

### Translation

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! King Māṇavarman tribhuvanacakravarti His Majesty  
Sundara Pāṇḍya, who bestowed the Cōla nāḍu (in his) year .. ..
- 2) Durgai ālvān Niccittakaṇṭhan, a śivabrāhmaṇa of this temple gave this  
agreement to the śrikāryam
- 3) and Śrī māhēṣavara kaṇkāṇi officers of this temple by engraving on stone  
(that he would) conduct the festival on the day of Uttirāṭam (uttara  
āṣāḍha) in the month of Kārttika,
- 4) from the accu endowed by Tiruttonḍan .. ..

**No.50: Inscription of Kōṇērinamaikoṇḍān, year 6 and day 20.**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī Tribhuv<sup>1</sup>anackravatti Kōṇēriṇmaikoṇṭān Mulli nāṭṭu  
brahmadēyam Śrī Irājarāja ccaturvedimaṅkalattu
2. sabahai<sup>1</sup>yārku taṅkalūr tenpāl pilā vīlaikkāṭu vetṭi paṇṇil kāṇiyālar  
pakkal Neṭṭūr uṭaiyān ḷaiyālvān
3. Pāṇṭiya tēvar vīlaikoṇṭa nancey<sup>2</sup> puncey<sup>3</sup> tōṭṭam nattam nīr nilai  
maram uṭpaṭa nāṅkellaikutpaṭṭa paṇṇu ikārāṇmai kāṇiyākavum

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1. In Grantha.

2. A portion is missing.

3. To be read as kōyilil.

4. To be read as Durgai.

5. To be read as Śrī māhēṣvar kaṇkāṇi śeyvārkum.

2. To be read as nancey.

3. To be read as puncey

uṭaiyār Tirunelvēli uṭaiya nāyanārku tēvatānam ākavum ittāl  
varum neṟ kaṭamai ponvari tilavari peruvari ulliṭṭa eppērpatta  
anaittu upāṭikaḷum tevaikaḷum ancāvatin etirām āṇṭu kār mutal  
tavirttu variyilum

4. kaḷikka cconnōm ippaṭikku ivvōlai piṭipāṭāka koṇṭu nānkellaikaḷile  
tiruccūla sthāpanam<sup>1</sup> paṇṇi kuṭukkavum iyartu eṟa ccu-  
rukkam uṭpaṭa nancey<sup>2</sup> nilam mukkalē mukkāṇi muntirikaiyil  
innāyanārku munpu tiruvōṭaippuram tiruttō-
5. ppu ppuṟam āna nilam kalē mukkāṇi nīkki nīkki nilam araiyē  
muntirikaiyil nattattutan kūṭum nilam arai māvam arccanā virutti  
nilam muntirikaiyum nīkki nilam onpatu māvaraikkum nattaṁ  
puncey<sup>3</sup> tōṭṭam nīr nilai maram uṭpaṭa paṟrukku
6. ner kkaṭamai ponvari nattavari tōṭṭavari ppunceykkāṭamai  
kāṇakkai<sup>1</sup> paccai ulliṭṭa eppērpatta upāṭikaḷum tevaikaḷum  
uṭpaṭa kārukku nellu muṇṇūṟṟu kkaḷam paṇam patinaincum  
paśānattukku nellu muṇṇūṟṟu kkaḷam paṇam patinaincum
7. āka aiññālikkal Vīra Pāṇṭiyanāl āṇṭonrukku vellai nellu  
aṟunūṟṟu kalam paṇam muppatil innāyanār kōyilil mutaliyār  
puraṭṭāṭi mārkāḷi paṇkuni āṇi ttirunālkaḷil tiruvanantāl eḷuntaruli  
ēriyarulināl
8. tiruppāvāṭai amutu śeyya amutupaṭi ulliṭṭa veñcanattukkum  
immutal taṇṭum paśilāṇṭārkaḷukkum nellu aiññūṟṟu irupattu  
aiṅkalamum tirunālkaḷil tiruppāvāṭai amutu śetarulināl śāttum  
oru mālai orānaikkum tiru
9. neṟṟi kkaṭṭukkum tiru cceṅkaḷunīrkku ppaṇam muppatum mu-  
taliyārku munpu Tirujñānam ōtum āṇṭārku jīvanattukku āṇṭu  
onrukku nellu eḷuppaattaiṅ kalamum āka aṟunūṟṟu kala nel-  
lum muppatin paṇamum vātā kaṭamai āka iṟuttu ivarum ivar  
varkattārum
10. kāraṇmai kkāṇiyāka anupavippatāka tēvatānamāka variyili  
kaḷikka cconnōm ippaṭikku ivvōlai piṭipāṭāka koṇṭu śantirātittavar  
śella kallilum śempilum veṭṭi kkuṭukka ivai taccan Nenmēli  
uṭaiyān eluttu<sup>2</sup> yāṇṭu āṟāvatu nāl 20
11. Itu Vānataraiyan eḷuttu<sup>2</sup> tulyam<sup>2</sup> ippaṭikku ivveluttu veṭṭinēn i  
ur<sup>3</sup> Ccippāśśriyan Perumā-

2. Pillaiyar śuli

3. To be read as ivvūr.

12. *lāna karuṇākara āśāriyan eḷuttu*<sup>2</sup>

## Translation.

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! Tribhuvanacakravarti Kōṇērinmaikoṇḍān,-
- 2) To the members of the *sabhā* of Rājarāja caturvēdimāṅgalam, a *brahmadēya* in Muḷli nāḍu:- The jack-tree garden situated in the *vettiparru* to the south of their village, which Ilaiyālvān Pāṇḍya
- 3) *dēvan* had purchased along with the dry and wet cultivable land, gardens, trees and water facilities within the four boundaries as a unit from the tenants as *kārāṇmai kāṇi* (lease hold) and was (gifted) as a *dēvadāna* to the deity at Tirunelveli after being exempted from the payment of the tax in paddy, the tax in cash, tax in sesamum and other levies and customary dues from the sixth year beginning with the season of *kār*. (This) was ordered
- 4) to be entered in the registers. Taking this document as the letter of authority and after fixing the boundary stones bearing the trisula marks on the four boundaries, the following land (was) set apart: 1/4 *mā*, 3 *kāṇi* and 1 *muntirikai* along with the 1/4 *mā*,
- 5) 3 *kāṇi* of the grove previously endowed as *tiruttōppu puram* and *tiruvōṭai puram* to this deity and in the remaining portion of 1/2 *mā* and 1 *muntirikai*, the *nattam* land being 1/2 *mā* and 1 *muntirikai* as the *arcana vritti*, after setting these apart, land to the extent of  $9\frac{1}{2}$  *mā* in all including the wet, dry, cultivable and garden land with water facilities and the tress that stood on
- 6) the land, The income in paddy and the taxes in cash, levy on *nattam*, garden and waste land as also the customary dues on wet land and other items (such as) *kāṇikkai* and *paccai* amounted to 300 *kalam* of white rice and 15 *paṇam* in cash for the *kār* season and similarly for *Paṣāṇ*;
- 7) and per annum 600 *kalam* of white rice measured by the *Vira Pāṇḍyan*, a measure of 5 *nāḷi* and 30 *paṇam*.
- 8) (Out of this) 525 *kalam* was to be utilised for the festivals and food offerings in the temple during the months of Purattādi (Bhādrapada), Mārgaḷi (Mārgaśīram), Paṅkuni (Phālguma) Āni (Āṣvina) and for the procession of the Goddess as also for *tiruuppāvaṭai* (garments for the Goddess).
- 9) The 30 *paṇam* was for the requirements of flower garlands and for an elephant (for the procession) with the necessary decorations and for



*tiruccenkalunir*<sup>1</sup> (tender cocoanut juice). 75 *kalam* of paddy per annum was the remuneration (*jivana*) for the reciter of the *Tirujñānam* in front of the deity. This 600 *kalam* of paddy and 30 *paṇam* shall be treated as *vāṭakkāṭan* (non diminishing return)

- 10) and the lease hold shall be enjoyed by (Paṇḍya dēvan) and those of his clan and (be) made a *dēvadāna* and this was ordered to be entered into the registers. After (arranging) this document to be treated as the letter of authority to last as the sun and moon, it was engraved on stone and copper. This is the signature of Nenmēli uḍaiyān, the carpenter.
- 11) This is the signature of Dānadaraiyan. True copy. Thus this was
- 12) engraved by Karuṇākara Ācāryan, the śilpācārya.

#### No.51: Inscription of the Māhēśvaras and śrī rudras.

Script: Tamil and *grantha*.

Language: Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> taṇṭiccān ōlai śakan cūl vaiyyakattu taṇṭiccān karu-mamāyar paṇṭē aṇaṇceytān śeytān aṇaṇ kāttān pātan tinam pāmara ceṇṇimēl vaittu kūlvempa nāṭṭu Ttirunelvēliyiṛ uṭaiyār Tirunelvēli uṭaiyār kōyilil tirumaṇṭapattu Śrī u ruttirarum<sup>2</sup> śuttamallimaṅkalamum<sup>3</sup> āncu kukaiyiṛ tiruttoṇḍarum tiruvīṭiyāṇ-tārkaḷum paṛisālāṇṭārkaḷum maṇṇum patinen viśaiyattu śrī urut-tirarum śuttamallimaṅkalamum āncu kukai
2. tiru Śī māyēśurarum<sup>4</sup> ivvanaivōmum<sup>5</sup> irukka Muḷli nāṭṭu uṭaiyār Tiruvāliśuram uṭaiya nāyanār tirumaṭaivilākam mērtalai Ccutta-mallimaṅkalattu Śrī uruttirar Śrī māyēśurarum kumpittirukkum tiruttoṇṭar
3. inke vantu arivittitattu Tiruvāliśvaram uṭaiya nāyanār tirukkāma-kkōṭṭam uṭaiya nācciyārku amutupaṭi illaiyeṇṇu yurai<sup>6</sup> muṇṇāl eṅkaḷukku arivittitattu Kulāśēkaran tirumaṇṭapattu nīrai

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L. This was needed for the *abhiṣēka* of the deities.

1. In *grantha*.

2. To be read as Śrī rudrarum.

3. To be read as Śuddhamallimaṅgalamum; name of a brāhmaṇa village.

4. To be read as māhēśvararum.

5. To be read as ivvanaivorum.

6. To be read as urai.

4. vara niṛaintu kuṛai vara kūṭi yiruntu ettarai .. .. .<sup>7</sup>.

**Translation.**

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! The order (document) of the maintainer of *daṇḍa* (the king), the one who orders or directs, examines the duties practises *dharma* and protects it by placing his feet upon the heads of the wicked in this world. (which is) surrounded by an annular continent named after tree called *cākam*<sup>8</sup>.
- 2-4) While the Śrīrudras, Śrīmahēśvaras, the representatives of buddhamallimaṅgalam and the devotees of the order of the five *guha* had assembled in quorum at the pillared hall called Kulāṣēkharan *mandapa* in the temple of Tirunelvēli in Kīlvemba nāḍu the Śrī māhēśvaras and devotees of Suddhamallimangalam, which formed the western limits of the temple of Tiruvāliśvaram in Muḷli nāḍu having come here and informed us orally that the deity and the Goddess of the *Tirukkāmakkōṭṭam* of Tiruvāliśvaram had no (endowments for) food offering .....<sup>9</sup>

**No.52: Inscription of the year 26 and day 345.**

**Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.

**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> aruḷicceyal Śrī Irājarāja ocaturvēdimamkalattu<sup>2</sup> sabhaiyārkkku taṅkaḷur tenpāl kātuveṭṭi nāṅkellaikk uṭpaṭṭa parril U-
2. ṭaiyār Tirunelvēli uṭaiya nāyanārkkku munpu tēvatānam āna nilam
3. nīkki nīkki uḷḷa parrāyapiṛa<sup>3</sup> ppūkaṇṭanum śirukallūr nāyarum
4. pakkaḷ Taivaccilai pperumāl ḷaiyāḷvan āna Kāliṅgarāyan vilai koṇṭa
5. ōlai ppaṭi nāṅkellaikk uṭpaṭṭa parru uṭaiya Tirunelvēli uṭaiya
6. nāyanārkkku kaṭamaiyum kāliṅkarāyarkku kārāṇmai kkāṇiyum āka irupattu āṛāvatu āṇi

7. Damaged and incomplete.

8. *Tamil Lexicon*, III, P.1352 under *śākattivu*.

9. The inscription is damaged and incomplete.

1. In *grantha*.

2. Note the use of the anusvara.

3. This is a Malayalam word meaning granary.

7. mātam mutal tēvatānam āka kuṭuttu ittāl varum nel kaṭamai ponvari tōṭṭavari
8. punṣey kaṭamai ulliṭṭa eppēṛpaṭṭa anaṭṭu upātikaḷum variyili kaḷit-
9. ta mutal aṭaṅka iraiyili āka kuṭuttōm ippaṭikku ivvōlai piṭipāṭaka
10. kkoṇṭu śantirātittavar śella kaḷilum śempilum veṭṭi nāṅkellaik-
11. kaḷilum tiruccūla sthāpanamum<sup>1</sup> paṇṇi kkuṭukka ivai Ponperri uṭaiyān eḷuttu yāṇṭu 26<sup>5</sup> vatu nāl 345<sup>5</sup> ivai kuḷśēkara vāṇataraiyan eḷuttu tulyam<sup>1</sup>
12. ippaṭi kaḷilum śempilum veṭṭinēn ivūr sippāsāriyan<sup>6</sup> Karuṇākara āsāriyan eḷuttu

### Translation.

- 1-4) Hail! Prosperity! At the graceful instance ( of the king), (the information addressed) to the members of the *sabha* of Rājārāja caturvēdimāṅgalam (pertaining to) the former *dēvadāna* land of the deity of Tirunelveli lying within the four boundaries as a unit in their village (to the south) and the purchase of (a portion of it) by Kāṅgarāyan Daivaccilai perumāḷ Iḷaiyālvān from Bhūkaṇṭhan of the granary and the Nāyar of of Sirukallūr
- 5-10) In the sale deed, the *kaṭamai* rights of the land was assigned to the deity of Tirunelvēli and the *kāraṇmai* to kāṅgarāyan from the 26th year and month of Āni. It was made a *dēvadāna* and the paddy accruing from the land, the cash income, garden cess and other dues on the wet land besides the customary dues (were) entered in the registers and the (whole property) was made tax-free. This order may be taken as the title deed to be effective as long as the sun and moon last and as ongraved  
III
- 11-12) stone and copper after fixing the boundary stones with the trident mark. This is the signature of Ponperri uṭaiyān. Year 26, day 345. This is the signature of Kuḷśēkhara vāṇadaraiyan. True copy. Thus I, Karuṇākara ācāryan, the śilpācārya of this village engraved (this) on stone and copper. This is my signature.

5. Expressed by numerical symbols.

6. To be read as śilpācāryan.

**No.53: Flower Slap inscription of Puruṣōttaman.****Script:** Tamil and *grantha*.**Language:** Tamil.

1. Svasti Śrī<sup>1</sup> ittiruppū palakai ṣeyvittān
2. Bhasuriyāna Nākatēvan Puruṣōttaman 2<sup>2</sup>

**Translation.**

- 1) Hail! Prosperity! This holy stone board for preparing flowers was caused to be made
- 2) by Bhāsuri Nāgadēvan Puruṣōttaman.

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1. In *grantha*.

2. The figures of what look like a lotus bud with a long stalk and the *pillaiyār ṣuḷḷi* are engraved.



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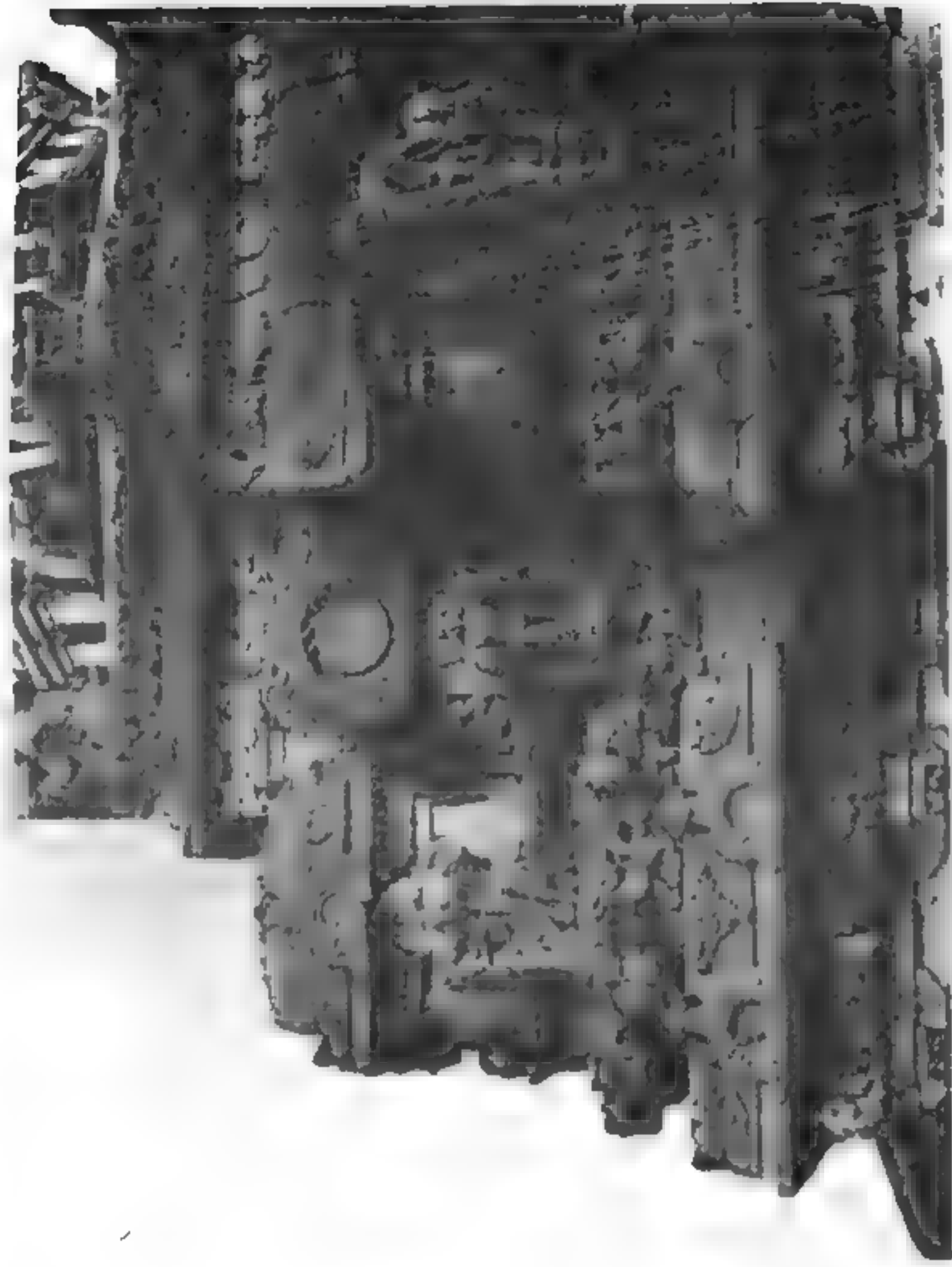
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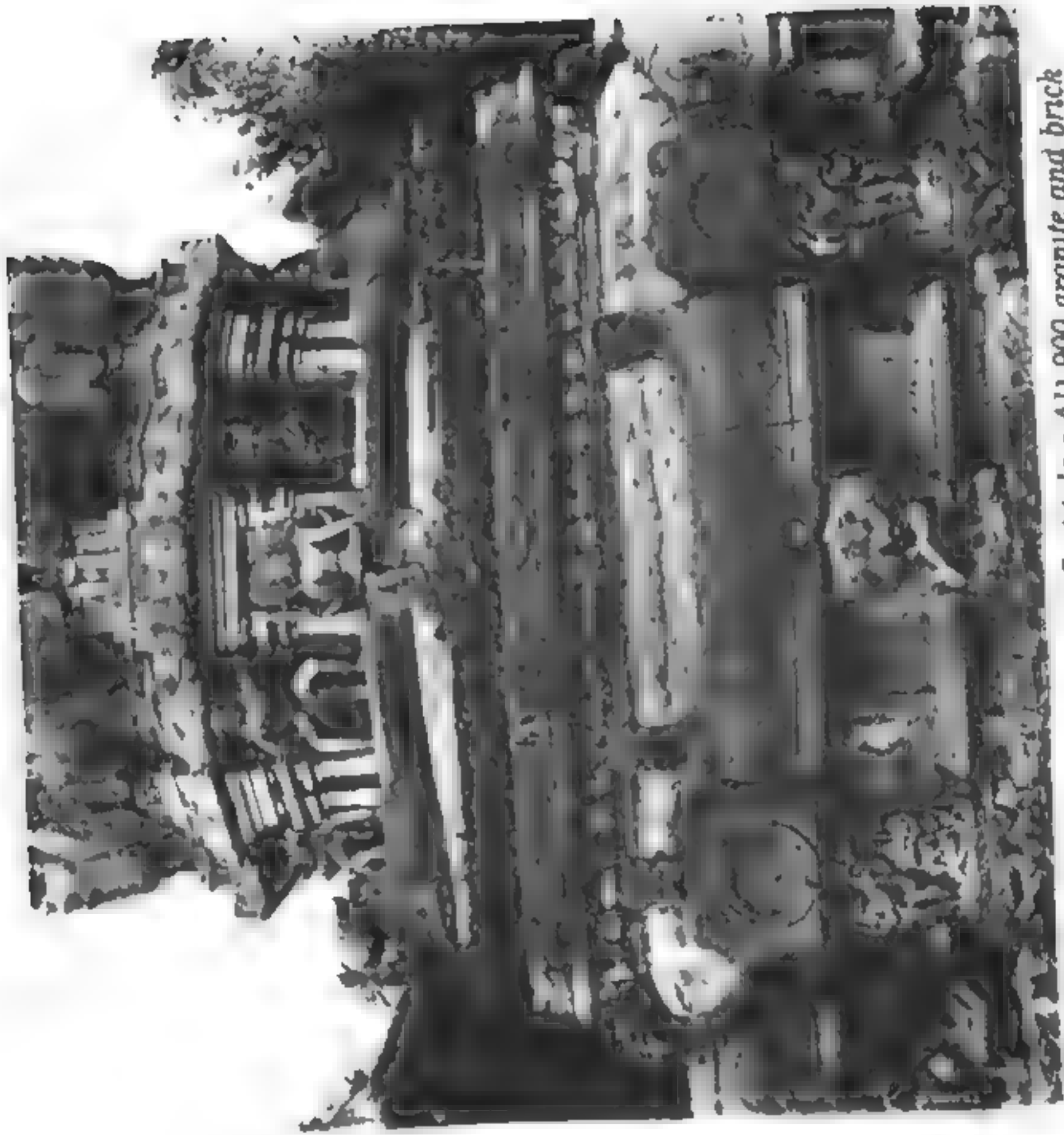
1. View from west, of images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



2. West wall, pilastered wall niches and first tala of super structure inscribed  
c AD 900 granite & brick



3. View from west, of image on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



4. View from south of images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



5. View from south of images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick





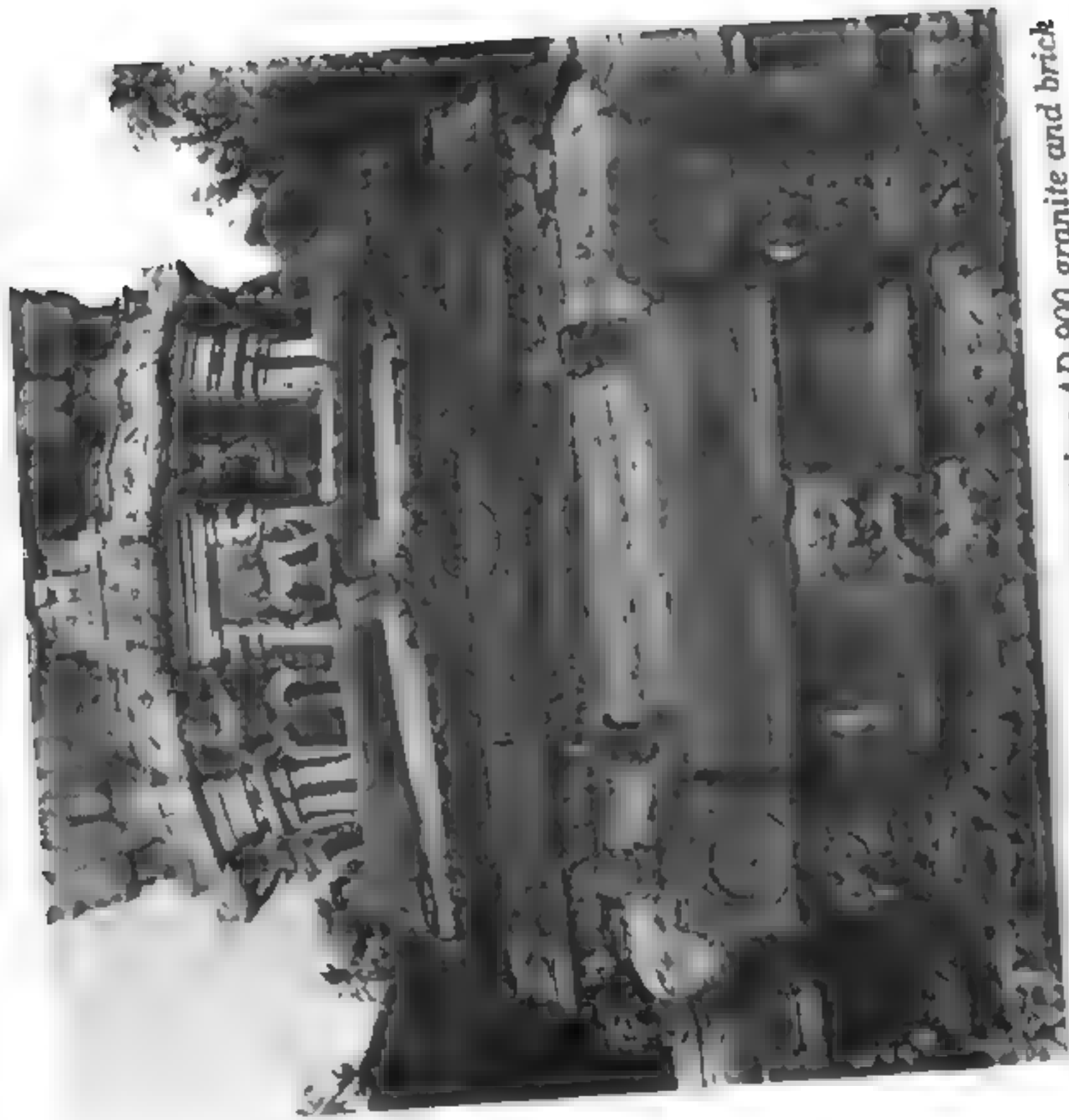
6. *View from east, detail of Indra on griva of temple c AD 900 granite and brick*



7. View from southeast, cornice of first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



8. View from southeast, Nandi above first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



9. View from south, images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



10. General view of vimana, from southwest inscribed c AD 900 granite and brick

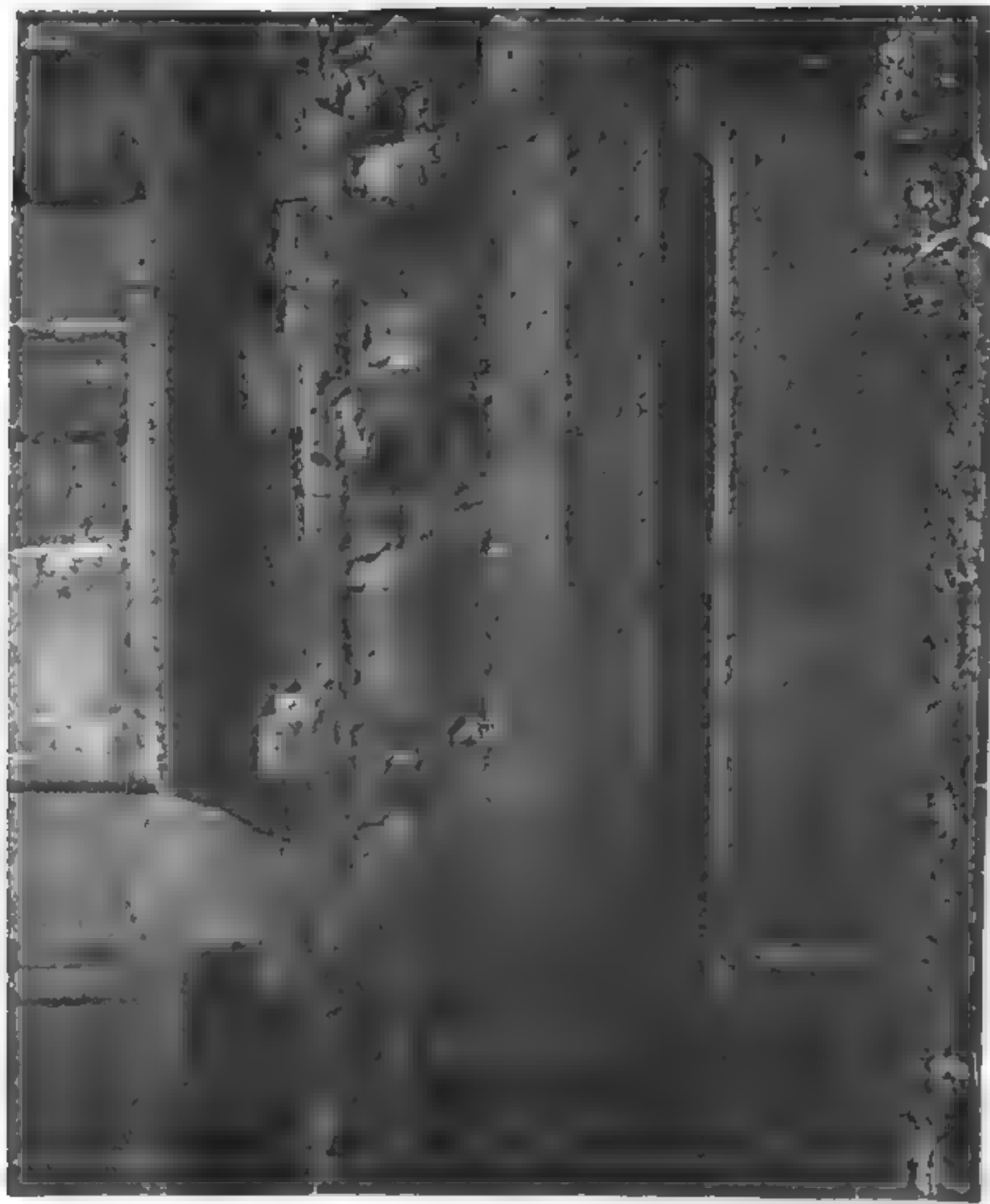




11. *General view of vimana from northwest c AD 900 granite and brick*



12. West wall, niches inscribed c AD 900 granite and brick



*13. West wall, niches inscribed c AD 900 granite and brick*



14. General view from north of images on second tala c AD 900 granite and brick



15. General view from north of images on second tala c AD 900 granite





16 North wall, image on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



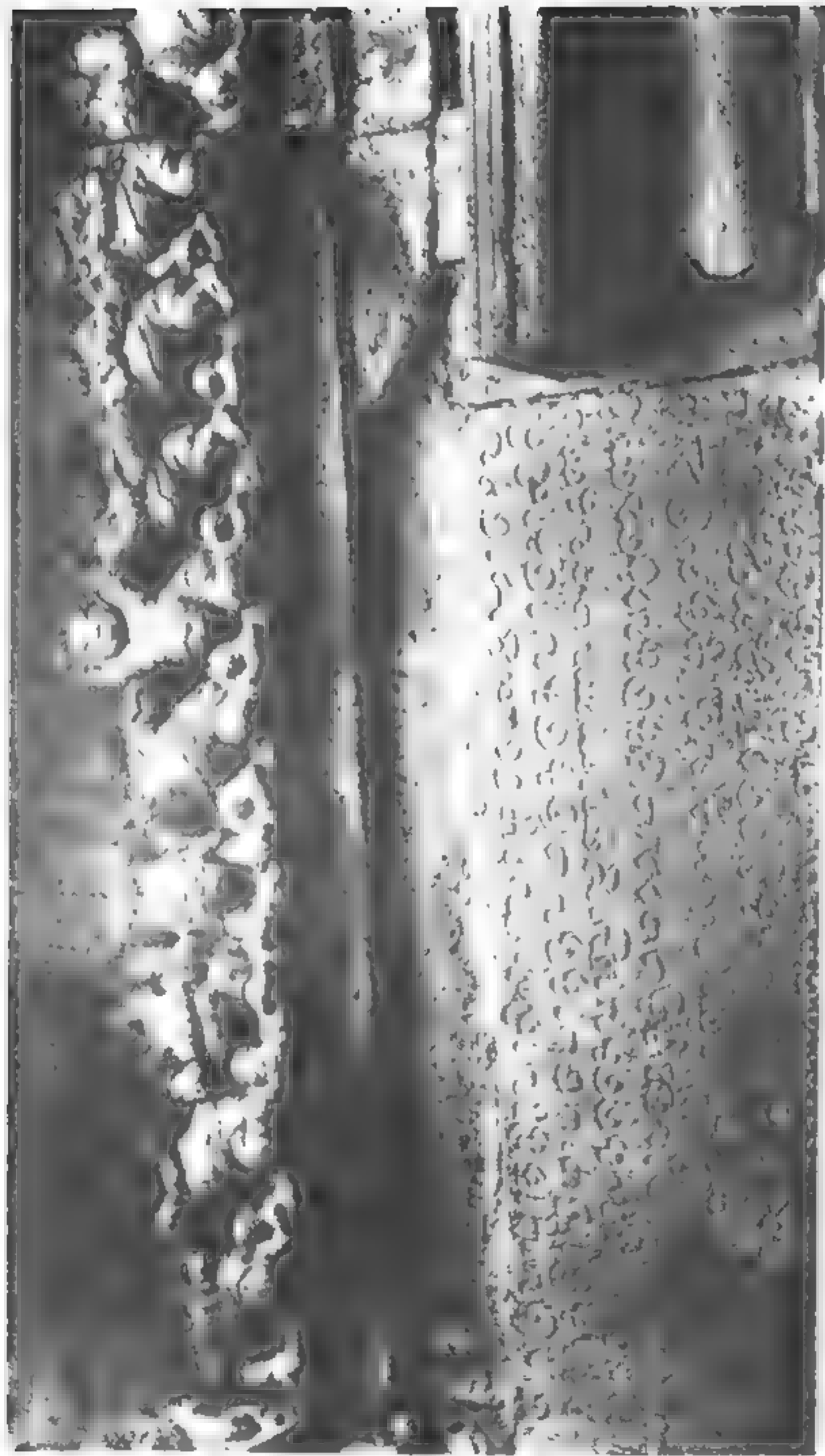
17 View from south, images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick



*General view from north of images on first tala c AD 900 granite and brick*



19. View from southwest, of first tala of super structure, octagonal griva and sikhara c AD 900 granite and brick

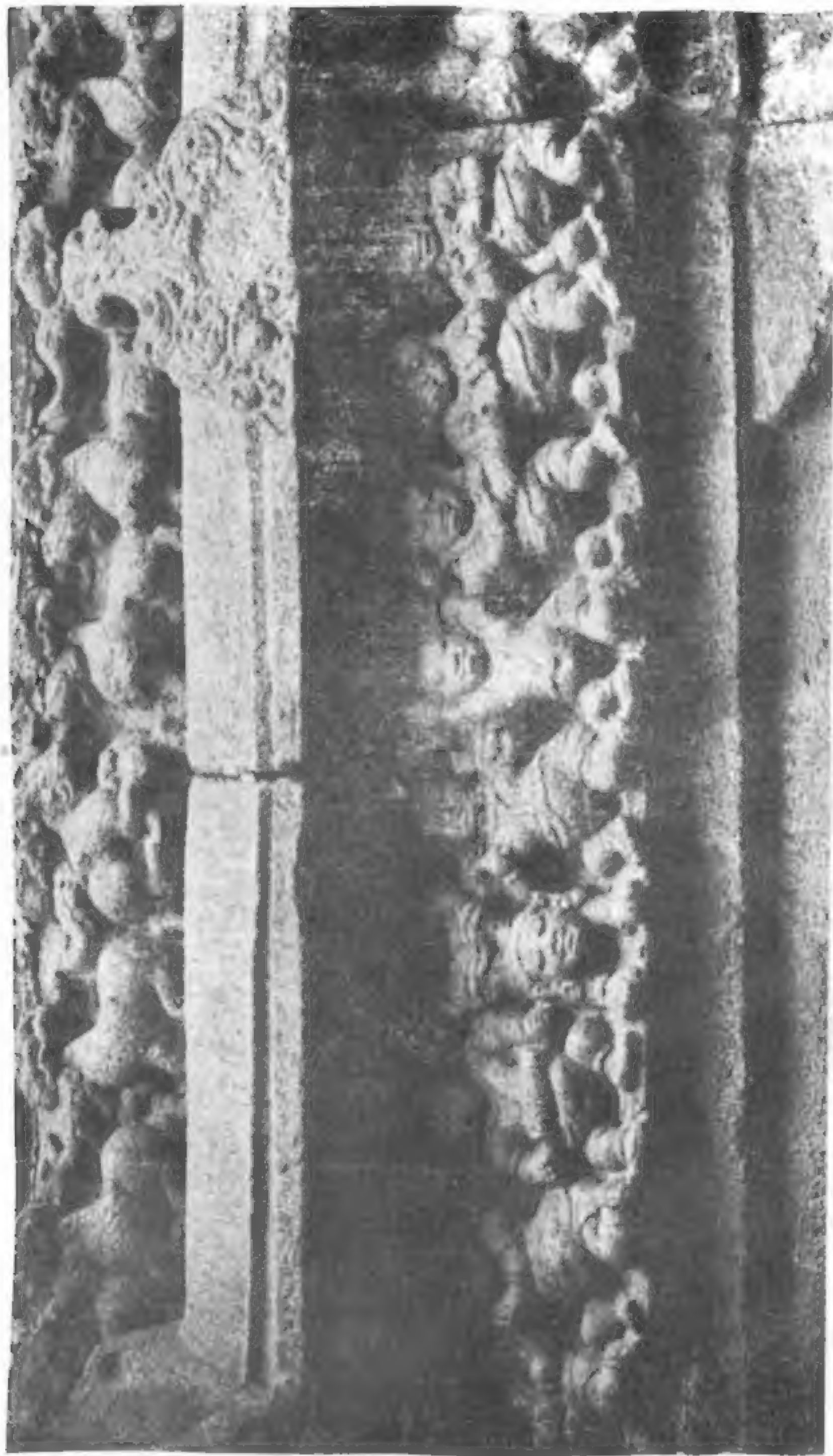


20. Details of south wall, showing bhutavalabhi kapota and vyalaavari in-  
ved c AD 900 granite and brick





21. Detail of south wall, bhutavalabhi, kapota and vyalavari inscribed c AD  
900 granite and brick

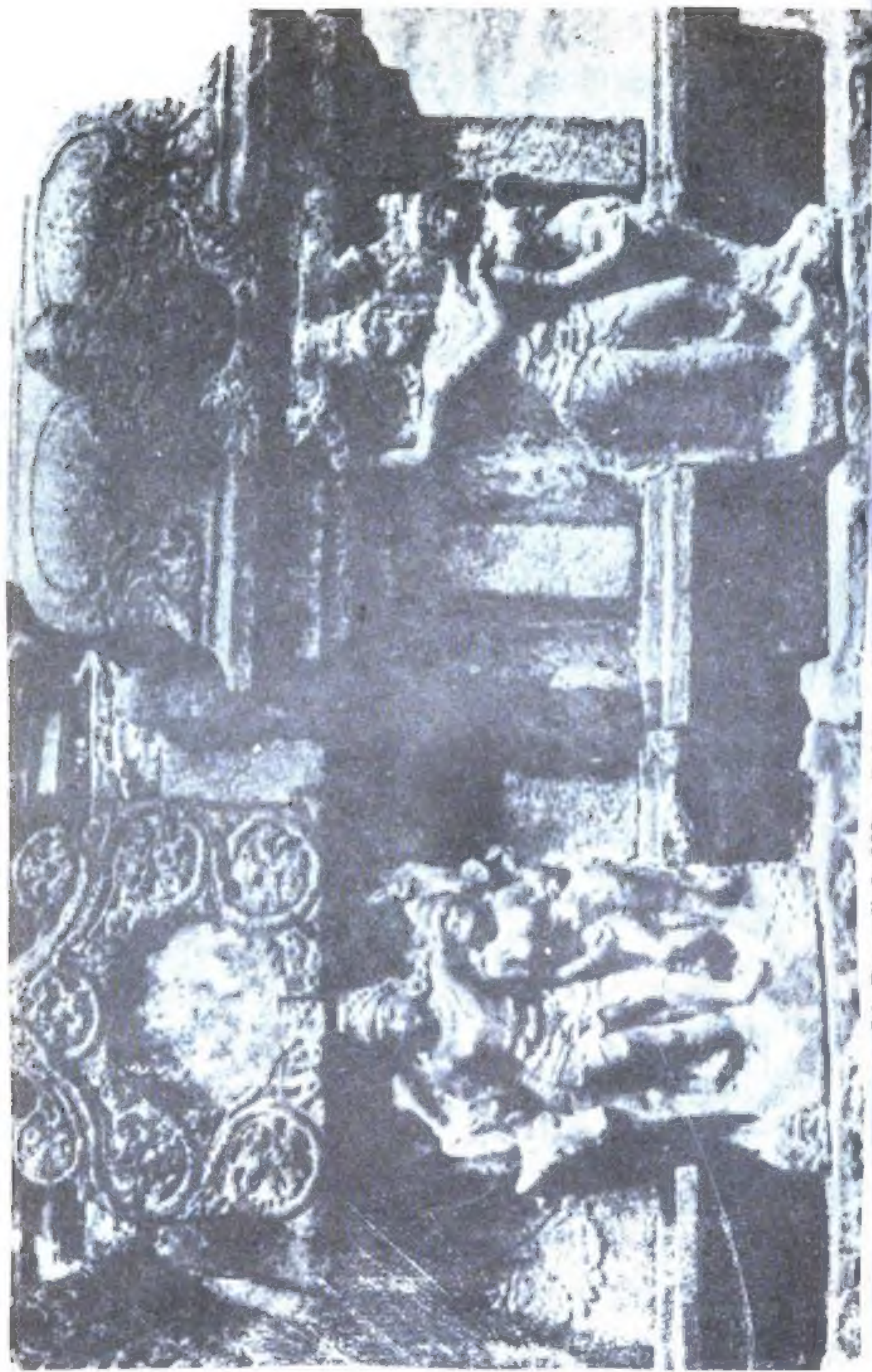


22. Detail of south wall, bhutavalabhi, kapota and vyavavari inscribed c AD  
900 granite and brick



23. View from southeast, of first talu, south side c AD 900 granite and brick





24. Bas relief of Uma Sahita and Kalyana Sundarar on the vimana.



